Daily Report

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Demonstrators in Prague Protest 1968 Invasion

'Several Thousand' March

AU2108194088 Paris AFP in English
1939 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Prague, Aug 21 (AFP)—Several thousand demonstrators marched through the streets here on Sunday to protest against the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia 20 years ago on August 20-21.

An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent watched the protestors, following Czechoslovak flags, joined by thousands of curious onlookers and tourists.

They sang the national anthem and chanted "Russians go home", "Democracy", "Freedom" and "Long live Dubcek", referring to the Czechoslovak leader Alexander Dubcek, who led the brief Prague Spring liberalisation moves.

They also shouted the name of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death in January 1969 in protest at the Soviet occupation.

Police had blocked all the bridges of the Vltava River to stop the marchers from entering the district which houses ministries and embassies.

Earlier police had surrounded a rally by several hundred people, who later joined the march, in memory of Czechoslovaks killed during the invasion.

The police, who seemed reluctant to use force, had tried unsuccessfully to disperse the crowd by moving in, checking identity papers and arresting several people.

But the crowd, which sang the national anthem and threw flowers at the foot of a statue of Bohemia's patron Saint Wenceslas, had remained in the central Prague square.

Calls were also made for respect for human rights, democracy and freedom, while discussion groups were led by young militants of the Independent Pacificist Movement, formed last April.

Police also earlier arrested a demonstrator who tried to lay flowers in front of the Prague Radio building, site of some of the worst clashes of the 1968 invasion, people accompanying him said.

However two spokesmen for Charter 77, the country's main opposition and human rights group, failed to appear after being released Saturday night from detention. Friends of theirs speculated the two had probably been re-arrested.

No official death toll from the invasion has ever been released, but estimates vary from a few dozen to up to 200 dead.

Crowd Chants 'Dubcek'

LD2108201888 Hamburg DPA in German
2006 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Prague (DPA) The demonstrations against the invasion of the CSSR by Warsaw Pact troops 20 years ago have reached a climax this evening. According to eyewitnesses, thousands of demonstrators marched through the center of Prague chanting "Dubcek," the name of the former party leader and reformer. The police have sealed off all approach roads to Wenceslas Square, the center of Prague. No further details are available.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Demanded

LD2108211088 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2029 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Prague, August 21 (TANJUG)—A protest rally, the largest held in Prague so far, was held this evening on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of a military and political intervention by five Warsaw Treaty countries in Czechoslovakia.

The organizers of the peaceful rally in Prague's Vaclavske Namesti (St. Wenceslas Square), who identified themselves as members of an "independent peace movement", gathered at the foot of the St. Wenceslas monument and signed a petition demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, release of political prisoners, rehabilitation of Czechoslovak citizens sentenced for political offences and guarantees of human rights. The petition was addressed to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and other federal and Czech republican organs. It will also be sent to peace movements in the world.

Public security organs did not intervene against the demonstrants.

Police Block Bridges, Roads

LD2108214388 Hamburg DPA in German
2102 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Following a largely quiet course to the protest rallies in Prague against the invasion of the CSSR by Warsaw Pact troops 20 years ago, thousands of people suddenly formed a procession when darkness fell today and marched to Old Town Square. There they sang the national anthem in front of the memorial to the reformer John Huss and chanted "freedom" and "democracy."

They repeatedly called the name of the former party leader Alexander Dubcek, symbol of the smashed "Prague Spring." The demonstrators then marched in the direction of Charles Bridge, aiming to reach the Castle, the seat of the Presidency. In front of the bridge they were forced back by a powerful police presence. The security forces closed off all bridges over the Vltava, and

blocked the approach roads to the city center and Old Town. The crowd was finally stopped outside the National Theater on the right bank of the Vltava.

CSSR Media Report, Comment on Demonstrations

TV Claims Low Turnout

LD2108185788 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] After yesterday's rain, today's good weather provided a lure for taking a stroll. Thousands of people came out to enjoy the charms of historical monuments, visited a number of cultural events, or just sat around enjoying a pleasant summer afternoon.

Several individuals, however, formed small discussion groups in Wenceslas Square and attempted to attract attention to themselves. There were not many of them and they were rather unsuccessful in their endeavor, although it was transparent that they were showing themselves off for the benefit of Western television crews. Their cameramen, too, relied on a scenario prepared beforehand, but in the end were unable to shoot anything but the embarassment of several individuals. Indeed, to a question posed by a U.S. ABC television crew, one of the participants summed it up precisely:

[Begin recording in English of unidentified participant] I do not understand why so few people are here. [end recording]

The fact is, of course, that the vast majority of people spent the third Sunday in August in a totally different way. In any case, it is a typical day when summer invites people to take a stroll or go to the countryside, from where they are just now returning.

Staging for Media Alleged

LD2108214488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Prague is currently experiencing the summer bustle of its inhabitants and visitors from the rest of the country and from abroad.

Last night, this morning, and then this evening groups of people tried to stage disturbances in Wenceslas Square at the Saint Wenceslas statue. In accordance with a prepared plan and with the participation of foreigners, television and radio crews and other journalists from the Western media earnestly sought sensations. At first (?events) took place peacefully. More pronounced attempts to stage provocations took place this evening after the crowd reached Old Town Square, and during their march through Prague's streets. The circumspect and resolute action by members of the National Security Corps ensured that there were no disturbances.

West Accused of Provocation

LD2208103488 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Unattributed station commentary]

[Text] Long before the 20th anniversary of the entry of allied troops into Czechoslovakia Western propaganda and diversionary centers began waging an intensive campaign aimed at provoking demonstrations and riots against the CPCZ and the state. The outcome is the subject of our commentary.

There have been a number of attempts to provoke anticommunist actions in Prague. As early as last Thursday, a small group of activists from the Italian Radical Party made such an attempt—a party which nominated a porno star, Cicciolina, to the Italian Parliament. Her appearance would probably have caused a greater stir in Prague. No one joined the action staged by the Italian radicals.

Last Saturday, foreign radio stations called a peaceful demonstration in the heart of Prague, at the statue of Saint Wenceslas. About 80 people gathered, which was rather less than the number of Western journalists and diplomats who were waiting impatiently. After an hour everyone dispersed peacefully.

Another provocative action was called on Sunday, in front of the Prague Radio building, but no demonstration took place, evidently because of the shortage of dissidents. However, the largest action was heralded for Sunday evening. Several hundred people gathered in Wenceslas Square—mostly onlookers.

Czechs and Slovaks have shown that Western appeals have only a minimal influence on them. No one wants the repetition of the upheavals and deterioration the country experienced 20 years ago, which were provoked by the right. Western propaganda exponents have once again shown how much they are detached from Czechoslovak reality. They have simply failed.

It is known that everything in Czechoslovakia is not ideal. Many urgent problems have to be tackled. It is for this very reason that the CPCZ has declared a program for restructuring, a program for the democratization of society's life and for radical economic reforms. Restructuring is continuing in a peaceful and planned manner, and has the full support of the country's population. It is frequently the subject of open and critical discussions. New individual measures, too, are the subject of debates. This is fully in accord with socialist democracy.

Those who wish for a return to the period of 20 years ago are equal in number to, for instance, the number of Frenchmen wishing to return to the Napoleonic period. The fact is that a quiet life, in peace, rich both spiritually and materially, to which the people aspire, is in full

variance with chaos and anarchy. The Czech and Slovak nation values its sovereignty and does not long for prescriptions imposed by the West.

The number of people who let themselves be swayed by Western propaganda was truly minimal.

28 'Provocateurs' of 'Riot' Held

LD2208123988 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Our public has been informed that disturbances occured in Wenceslas Square, Old Town Square, and adjoining streets in Prague on Sunday evening. According to information received from the organs of the National Security Corps today, a crowd which gradually grew to around 4,000 attempted to break the public peace. Among them were provocateurs whose actions on Smetana Embankment, National Avenue, and in the Na Mustku area during the night grew into a riot. Among other things, by throwing bottles they slightly injured two members of the Public Security service.

Members of the National Security Corps took 77 participants, mainly organizers of the action, for interrogation. Most of them were released after interrogation. Twenty-eight persons are still in custody on suspicion of having committed the criminal act of riotous behavior. Seven foreign nationals were also taken for interrogation, six of whom had their stay in Czechoslovakia terminated.

Protests Used To 'Advertise' Radical Party

LD1908225388 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Yesterday, a group belonging to the Italian Radical Party attempted to stage a provocative action in Wenceslas Square. REUTER and other agencies today carried extensive reports in connection with the campaign launched by Western media on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the August events. The group of 24 people comprised mainly members of the Italian Radical Party, but also included Spaniards, Belgians, and a U.S. citizen. They were distributing inflammatory leaflets in a number of places in our republic for a number of days. They brought almost 10,000 of the leaflets to our country. Some were found concealed in Brno; others were—or were planned to have been—distributed in Prague, Bratislava, Ceske Budejovice, and Kolin, allegedly in accordance with the statutes of the Radical Party, as these members of it claimed.

As a matter of interest, the Radical Party has 28 active branches throughout Europe. Everyone from the mentioned group has already left the territory of our republic. One more thing. Before their departure they attempted to advertise their own party. This, too, was one of the objectives of that action. Let us therefore remind ourselves of the fact that the Radical Party is also represented in the Italian Parliament—you have seen the way in which a woman candidate to the Italian Parliament conducted her election campaign. Therefore, a broad range of interests and even a broader range of methods was used. One such method was used yesterday in an attempt to disturb the peace in our capital.

Rights Group Demands Resignation of Husak, Bilak

AU1908094988 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Aug 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Vienna/Prague—In a declaration on the 20th anniversary of the invasion of the CSSR by Warsaw Pact troops, the Czechoslovak civil rights movement "Charter 77" called upon its fellow citizens "to get rid of the burden of their fear and freely express their opinion on issues—including the 1968 intervention." [passage omitted]

In its declaration on the 20th anniversary, another opposition group, the new "Democratic Initiative of the CSSR," appealed to "all states that participated in the campaign against the CSSR in August 1968 to admit that this was an unlawful interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state." The withdrawal of a Soviet unit from CSSR territory should symbolically support a new approach to the question of relations between Moscow and Prague.

"Democratic Initiative" requests the CSSR leadership's revocation of the official "doctrines resulting from the critical development," the rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek and his leadership, and the resignation of the top politicians Gustav Husak and Vasil Bilak "who epitomize the authoritative regime installed after the 1968 invasion." [passage omitted]

Mlynar Doubts Leaders Committed to Reform

AU1908135188 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 19 Aug 88 p 8

[Interview with Zdenek Mlynar, former CPCZ Central Committee secretary and one of the signatories of Charter 77, who is now a university lecturer and journalist in Austria, by Thomas Urban: "Looking Back on the Prague Spring"; place and date not given]

[Text] Urban: Twenty years after the invasion by the Warsaw Pact troops, a new man is heading the CPCZ, but there are hardly any signs of political change.

Mlynar: The appointment of Milos Jakes as the new party chief by no means implies a renewal of the party leadership in political terms. He belongs to the political clique that came to power 20 years ago. These people have stifled all reform attempts ever since. Therefore, it is not surprising that people do not trust the party leadership. Nobody believes that it seriously strives for democratization. Particularly the ideologues of that time, such as Vasil Bilak, are considered symbols of the suppression of any kind of reform-oriented policy. Reforms, however, can only be carried out if confidence

exists in society from below. Only then are people prepared to commit themselves and to make sacrifices. In political terms, the CSSR is an island of Brezhnevisms.

Urban: It is difficult to imagine that Jakes was appointed without Moscow's approval.

Mlynar: It is quite possible that first he was not favored by the Politburo in Moscow. Gorbachev is apparently trying not to interfere. All initiatives to develop a specific form of socialism were destroyed by that time, but now we hear from Moscow that everybody can pursue his own path. However, some party leaderships include politically deformed persons. This would amount to brutally breaking somebody's legs and telling him later: Now you can go wherever you want. But of course this person has already lost his strength. Jakes was a candidate of the party apparatus that has emerged during the past 20 years of "normalization." He was pushed forward by the conservatives within the party leadership who wanted to prevent more radical reforms by all means, such as Premier Strougal might have carried out. Jakes is the one who should slow down this process. Most of the conservatives in Prague apparently still doubt that Gorbachev will be successful.

Urban: This would mean that the statements by the new Prague leadership on perestroyka are nothing more than lip service.

Mlynar: In this way, the leadership around Jakes has set itself a trap. On the one hand it publicly advocated Gorbachev's line, but on the other it must now present successes that are measured with the same yardstick as in the Soviet Union. First there was the dispute between Bilak and Strougal which was also waged in public. Bilak was cautious, he shared the view of the GDR: "There is no need to copy everything. Every country must choose its own way." Interestingly enough, Bilak had so far advocated "general rule of law," which means that up to 1985 he vigorously demanded that Soviet politics be copied. Strougal, on the other hand, has been calling for reforms since that time. Jakes also talks about perestroyka now, but at the party congress, in 2 years' time at the latest, he will be asked about the economic success of his policy. It will then become obvious that his policy does not work because people are not committed. Even if there is no glasnost in the CSSR in Soviet terms, it will no longer be possible to conceal this. Whether the people who are now heading the party in Prague will be forced to leave their posts, also depends on the degree to which Gorbachev will be able to implement his policy.

Urban: Why was it the conservatives who exerted a decisive influence on the nomination of the party chief?

Mlynar: The CSSR finds itself in a special situation: In 1970 the party was purged. About one-third of the members—about half a million—were removed from the party at the time. Many of them also lost their jobs. Removal from the party was linked with the loss of one's job where qualified posts were involved, in the spheres of science, culture, press, and in the state apparatus. This left the negative elements in the party, and those who advocated reforms were relegated to the background. As a consequence, conformists and opportunists were promoted in the party. Of course, it is possible that some of them will adapt to the new situation. But most of them do not want to take any risks. In no case do they want to pay the price the reformers had to pay 20 years ago. Therefore, the future of the party in the CSSR lies in the hands of the 40-year-olds who were not involved in politics in 1968 and who were not affected by the purges. But they have not yet climbed high enough in the pyramid of power to be able to change anything.

Urban: The current leadership rejects with great emphasis any parallels between the Dubcek program and Gorbachev's perestroyka.

Mlynar: If the leadership admitted parallels, it would have to accept the responsibility for the suppression of the reform policy at the time. And in addition to that, it would lose its legitimacy. But the Prague Spring has a character of its own. It would not have been possible in another country. In 1968 we never thought that people would hang us from the lampposts if democratization were introduced. On the contrary, the party leadership and the people spoke the same language.

Urban: So, one of the main differences between perestroyka and the Prague Spring is that the 1968 movement was supported from below, whereas Gorbachev finds only hesitant approval among the people.

Mlynar: The reasons for this can be traced to the history of the two countries. Bohemia had a Western political culture, whereas Russia first developed under oriental, despotic rule. In 1968 the older generation in our country had experienced parliamentary democracy. For them, pressure from below meant participation in political events. In the Soviet Union people have never experienced anything like that. From the thirties onward at the latest, the command system prevailed there.

Urban: Parallels have repeatedly been drawn between Dubcek's and Gorbachev's reform plans. The Prague program of action of 1968, however, went much further in decisive points.

Mlynar: Today's reformers in Moscow are in agreement with the 1968 Prague plans on five points. First, it is not possible to solve economic problems without a reform that is more oriented toward the laws of the market and that abandons the strict command system. Second, economic reforms must be accompanied by political reforms that are aimed at democratization and include the right of assembly and freedom of opinion. What was understood by this in Prague, comprised much more than what is understood by glasnost today. Third, a state must be created that is based on the rule of law and the

separation of powers. Fourth, a certain degree of codetermination and self-management must be introduced in enterprises. In 1968, however, we demanded much more far-reaching reforms. Fifth, democratization must be brought about within the party. The elected representatives must maintain control over the apparatus. Various groups representing social interests and even political factions should be allowed to form.

Urban: It was the last point, in particular, that met with fierce resistance in the party apparatus.

Mlynar: This was bound to happen. However, later it turned out to be a mistake that the radical reformers pushed the conservatives to the wall during the Prague Spring. The reformers wanted to delay a party congress because they believed they would still gain strength. The conservatives knew that they would not stand a chance at a party congress to maintain their position. Thus, they formed an alliance with the foreign enemies of the reforms. At the time, the party leadership included people like Bilak and Jakes. It was a mistake to allow this split within the party leadership. An extraordinary party congress, convened at the right time, may have strengthened cohesion among the leadership, or it may at least have prevented the deep split. But none of these mistakes suffices to justify the assertion that Prague was full of counterrevolutionaries and that the country was facing a civil war.

Urban: Would it have been possible for the leadership around Dubcek to prevent the invasion?

Mlynar: Maybe one of Dubcek's decisive mistakes was that he did not want to irritate Moscow through foreign-policy initiatives of his own. This led to our isolation in foreign policy. Otherwise we might have received more support from West European communists in our relations with the Kremlin. We had the idea, for example, to invite both these parties and the CPSU to a large conference. Then it would not have been so easy for the Kremlin to accuse us of counterrevolutionary efforts. The conference, however, did not take place.

Urban: Would more political contacts with the West have been useful for Dubcek?

Mlynar: One should not forget that some Western states had their own problems in 1968, with the students' movement, for example. The governments there were not very happy about the fact that communism with a human face was developing in the CSSR. It was easier for them to come to terms with a communism that used tanks. When tanks actually arrived in Prague, it had become easier for them to deal with it. But, basically, the Prague reforms came too late. It was simply not possible to carry them out within the framework of Brezhnev's neo-Stalinist policy.

Urban: Does that mean that Dubcek's policy was doomed to failure from the beginning, because of Moscow's expected objection?

Mlynar: One thing is certain: We did not achieve what we wanted. We are losers. This is the only thing that counts in politics. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union is responsible for the military intervention.

Urban: Did you abandon all hope after the invasion?

Mlynar: First I thought that it would be possible for us to pursue a policy similar to that of Kadar in Hungary. But this hope soon turned out to be unrealistic. Following the bloody suppression, Khrushchev did not want to reintroduce Stalinism in Hungary. In accordance with the slogan "Those who are not against us are for us," he made it possible for Kadar to bring about a change. But a different kind of pressure was exerted by Moscow under Brezhnev. Dubcek first tried to save as much as he could by selling—one could use this expression—his reform-minded colleagues one after the other, including myself. He offered me the influential post of culture minister, which I rejected. But then the new leadership under Husak was installed, which carried out a neo-Stalinist restoration under the name of "normalization."

[Text] Urban: In the Soviet Union, Brezhnev's policy is now being criticized as a "period of stagnation." What do you expect from Gorbachev, who was a personal friend of yours, in connection with the CSSR?

Mlynar: If he wants to retain his credibility, if he continues to use the expression of the "common European home," on behalf on the Soviet Union, he must distance himself from the intervention. This will not be possible today; he is facing different kinds of problems. But currently everything is quiet in the CSSR. On the other hand, it is not possible for Gorbachev to embrace the reformers of 1968. We have failed. But the Soviet leadership must try to repair some of the damage. I do not call for rehabilitation; history has provided it, and I do not want it from Jakes. But I think of the children of the reformers of 1968 who have not been allowed to attend universities to this very day. And, finally, free discussions must be permitted, both in the CSSR and the Soviet Union. Otherwise the Prague Spring continues to be a myth for some, and a ghost for others.

Plostina Event Celebrates Soviet Friendship

LD2008165888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] More than 13,000 workers from the Gottwaldov District today attended a festival in Plostina to celebrate peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. They expressed their resolve to actively contribute to strengthening peace and developing friendship with the Soviet Union. Miroslav Toman, federal minister of agriculture and food, spoke at the rally. He singled out the importance of the Soviet proposals to eliminate all nuclear

weapons, proposals which enjoy enormous support from the public, and recalled the positive response to the proposal advanced by Comrade Milos Jakes to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations. A cultural and sports program was a part of today's festival of peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship in Plostina.

'68 Invasion Justified, 'Right Wing' Blamed

LD2108102388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Commentary by Dr Karel Horak, editor-in-chief of TRIBUNA; from the "Living Words" program]

[Text] Two decades have now elapsed since the crisis in our country at the end of the sixties. Nonetheless, the events of the spring and summer of 1968 are still a welcome opportunity for bourgeois propaganda and also for the protagonists of that time to try to defend and popularize the bankrupt policy of the right-wing forces of the time. This year in particular, the 20th anniversary of the so-called "Prague Spring" is being abundantly exploited in the West in order to distort the history of building socialism in our country and to organize slanderous campaigns against the CPCZ and its current policy. The media and various conferences and symposia are giving an open platform to figures of the right wing from the crisis years, in order to make a scientific and objective analysis, in hindsight, of their policy in 1968 and to assess the course of restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

It hardly needs pointing out that the content of their exclusive interviews and discussion papers bears no relation to any kind of objective analysis of developments in the crisis period. Their sole, and, it must be said, hardly new thesis repeated over and over again is that what happened in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago was not a bid to launch a counterrevolution, but the rebirth and democratization of socialism. The only new feature is that Messrs Dubcek, Mlynar, Pelikan, Sik, and a whole pleiad of others are trying to demonstrate the affinity of the so-called Prague Spring to today's restructuring in the Soviet Union. The policy they were carrying out, they claim, was similar to the current policy of the CPSU and is thus fully rehabilitated by the latter. So, the very people who were allowing our party and socialist order to disintegrate and who dashed the hopes for socialist reform 20 years ago now declare themselves loyal champions of Soviet restructuring—what a paradox!

In this context it is enough simply to recall the main facts of the 1968 developments to show clearly where their much-heralded democratization of socialism was heading. Instead of remedying mistakes and creating conditions for the advance of socialist society, the revisionists in the party Central Committee opened the gates to the activity of antisocialist forces, and they themselves undermined and gradually demolished the very principles on which socialism is built. Attacks on the CPCZ and its leading role, on the police, the Army, the judiciary, and demands for the People's Militia to be disbanded and for neutrality to be declared, generating tension, spreading nationalism and anti-Sovietism—that is the true picture of the spring and summer 20 years ago.

Under the very eyes of Alexander Dubcek and his associates and with their tacit agreement—the very people who today are so concerned for the fate of socialism in our country—such organizations as KAN, K-231, the Locomotive Crews' Federation, the Union of Higher Education Students, and the right-wing social democratic group, sprang up; the pre-February represenatives of the National Socialist and People's Parties, and of the agrarian National Democratic and Christian Democratic Parties dating back to the bourgeois republic became active. Their common aim was to exact retribution for February 1948, to destroy the CPCZ, and to seize power. The rightists in the party leadership, however, were loath to acknowledge this real danger which was threatening socialism. They even failed to heed the misapprehensions of Czechoslovak communists and the grave warnings of the fraternal countries. They continued to insist that there was no threat to socialism in our country. They swore allegiance to the Warsaw Pact and friendship with the Soviet Union, promising to adopt rigorous measures against the anti-socialist excesses, as they termed the onslaught of counterrevolution.

The reality, however, was quite different. Instead of taking steps to curb the activities of the antisocialist forces, they yielded to their pressure, encouraging the media to greater activity, and describing media tirades as support for the process of rebirth. In the end, they themselves spearheaded the hysterical nationalist and anti-Soviet campaign which was seeking to split with the Soviet Union and tear Czechoslovakia out of the socialist community. When the counterrevolutionary forces sounded the bugles for the final assault by launching the "2,000 Words" appeal, contradicting the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the rightists in the party leadership endorsed it. They ignored the meeting of the five fraternal parties in Warsaw, as well as the agreement reached in Cierna Nad Tisou and Bratislava. Their guiding tactic was to promise the moon but to do nothing. They wanted to stage a 14th party congress at all costs in order to definitely take over the party so as to forge ahead without hindrance in smashing the achievements of socialism. The outcome of all this was that in August 20 years ago, our country was faced with the question: Which is it to be—the triumph of counterrevolution or the defense of socialism?

In this situation, when the internal forces maintaining the positions of socialism were paralyzed by the rightists' policy and unable to mobilize in order to halt the frontal attack of counterrevolution, the only way to save socialism was the internationalist assistance of the fraternal socialist countries. This prevented an open challenge by

the enemies of socialism and brought about the conditions in which to mobilize and organize the Marxist-Leninist forces to wage their political struggle against those who had led the party and society astray, to overcome the threat of counterrevolution by political means, and to lead our country out of the crisis.

If Alexander Dubcek and all the other protagonists of the so-called "Prague Spring" today claim that the internationalist assistance of the fraternal socialist countries in 1968 was unjustified and call for it to be reassessed and denounced, they are lying and they know it. They are pursuing their own political ambitions; they want to rehabilitate themselves along with the bankrupt policy of the crisis years. That is why they are making all kinds of claims to the effect that if we want genuine restructuring in our country, we ought to build, so they say, on what they began. That is why they hypocritically latch on to restructuring in the Soviet Union. Their activities in the crisis period and the ensuing years have exposed them clearly enough for what they are and has demonstrated which side of the barricade they stand on. The profound crisis into which they took our party and society 20 years ago is a clear enough lesson for us.

Further on Visit of Saarland Premier Lafontaine

Speaks to Academics, Military

LD1908203088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1027 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin 19 Aug (ADN)—Within the framework of his visit to the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker, Saarland Prime Minister and SPD Deputy Chairman Oskar Lafontaine gave a talk in Berlin today to GDR academics and military personnel. He spoke on the subject of "The Society of the Future." Early this year, he published a book with this title containing an up-to-date and theoretically substantiated definition of the Social Democrat position. With his exposition he was continuing in the International Press Center a political and scientific dialogue which began last year in Saarland with a talk by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Taking part in the event, which was organized by the International Politics and Economics Institute, were specialists from scientific academies and institutes and of military science and practice. Also present were the persons accompanying Oskar Lafontaine: Gunter Rettner, SED Central Committee department director; and Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG's Permanent Mission in the GDR.

In his talk Oskar Lafontaine said that nowadays mankind is facing challenges it has not faced before. The possible disasters and dangers threatening it, he said, have attained dimensions unprecedented in history. This was not just restricted to the military category, but was just as conceivable in the ecological sphere.

Working from these considerations, Oskar Lafontaine set out the basic lines of a model of society based on the principle of giving each individual the opportunity of acting responsibly. Only then did one have a chance of coping with the problems of the future. "This was, as it were, the original plan of the workers' movement, to give an individual his rights in the context of solidarity, which today has achieved a new dimension." He wanted to expand the concept of solidarity to cover relations with the environment and with future generations. Apart from solidarity, Oskar Lafontaine also mentioned freedom and responsibility as further basic categories of the catalogue of moral norms in his model of society.

Oskar Lafontaine spoke in some detail about the dialectical interaction between these categories and the organizational structures of existing social systems. He raised the question of whether the latter possessed the necessary capacity to learn in order to deal with the future tasks of mankind, one of the most important of which was, in his view, the securing of peace. In this connection he spoke out against pessimistic views and espoused the principle that history can be consciously shaped by mankind. Hope has also always been a basic characteristic of the attitude of the workers movement, he added.

Philosophers, scientists, economists, and political and military theorists all joined in the lively and interesting discussion. They expressed views, additions, and objections to theoretical aspects of the lecture. In so doing they also raised questions relating to the relationship between Lafontaine's social model and practical possibilities with regard to further cooperation between the SPD and the SED, as well as between the two German states. There was agreement in connection with the priority of joint responsibility for disarmament and detente.

Attends Luncheon

LD1908140888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Aug (ADN)—A 2-day visit by Oskar Lafontaine, Saarland prime minister and SPD deputy chairman, ended today with a luncheon at Niederschoenhausen Castle. Taking part in the get-together were, for the GDR side: Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State; Gunter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and Central Committee departmental director; and Karl Seidel, departmental director in the GDR Foreign Ministry. Attending for the FRG were Hans-Otto Braeutigam, head of the permanent mission of the FRG in the GDR, and persons accompanying the Saarland prime minister.

Holds News Conference

LD1908203988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Aug (ADN)—In his talks with Erich Honecker and other GDR politicians he has gained the impression that given goodwill on both sides, it would be quite easy to advance at a faster pace in relations between the two German states, over and above what has been achieved. This was stated to domestic and foreign journalists in Berlin by Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of the Saarland and SPD deputy chairman, on Friday at the end of his 2-day visit to the GDR.

Lafontaine said with regard to the results of his visit that after the past few months he had wanted to form his own impression about what was feasible in relations between the FRG and GDR over the next few years.

During the discussion of his lecture to GDR experts, the Saarland prime minister said, he had noticed a definite interest in exchanges on ideological issues. It was certainly something to be desired if such discussions and lectures were to take place more often. In his talks he had consciously linked discussion to the joint SED and SPD paper on ideological debate and had pointed out that such events fulfill the spirit of this paper and that one must try to continue this dialogue.

Speaking about disarmament, the Saarland prime minister said that he thought the strategy of joint security and the strategy of structural incapacity for attack, which was also being advocated by the GDR leadership and by the Warsaw Pact states, was a clear renunciation of orthodox security policy. One had to try to develop this strategy further and to inaugurate corresponding measures, for example to reduce flight movements.

Erich Honecker had told him that there was the possibility that the two defense ministers would talk about this issue, with due regard for all alliance obligations.

With reference to travel and visitors, Oskar Lafontaine said that for the first quarter of this year the general secretary had mentioned the figure of one million journeys, 362,000 of them by people below retirement age. In the view of the GDR leadership travel has to be increased.

As prime minister of the Saarland he made agreements with the general secretary under which Saarland businesses would have a greater share than before in the modernization of production facilities in the GDR.

Answering questions from journalists, Oskar Lafontaine said that he had gained the impression that there is a whole range of possibilities for reaching agreements between the two German states on matters still outstanding.

Asked about economic contacts between Saarland and GDR enterprises, the prime minister pointed to joint projects in the sphere of environmental protection, in use of waste products, and in the better use of energy-converting equipment.

Asked about his views on disarmament, Oskar Lafontaine replied that the Social Democrats and the GDR leadership shared a number of positions. He was thinking for instance of the INF solution, of the reduction of strategic weapons, of nuclear- and chemical weapons-free zones, and of the proposal of the Palme Commission. What is important now is to implement these proposals step by step. The stance of his party on tactical nuclear weapons is well known: These weapons fulfill no military purpose in the view of the SPD, because if they were used they would destroy everything they are intended to protect.

Urges 'Readiness for Compromise'

LD1908173088 Hamburg DPA in German
1436 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to Saarland Prime Minister Oskar Lafontaine (SPD), GDR State and Party Leader Erich Honecker is "firmly resolved" to continue the policy of improving intra-German relations. Lafontaine, speaking to journalists today at the end of his 2-day visit in East Berlin, said Honecker combined this with "clear ideas and definite views."

Lafontaine, who conducted several hours of talks with Honecker yesterday, underlined his view that it is possible to intensify the pace of development in intra-German policy. He could only advise and warn "those concerned to advance matters with a greater readiness for compromise."

Lafontaine added that tourist traffic should, in the GDR leadership's view, be developed, although this is associated with financing and monetary parity problems. For the first quarter of this year he had been cited a figure of around 1 million visits by GDR citizens to the Federal Republic, of which 362,000 were undertaken by people below pensionable age.

With reference to relations between the Saarland and the GDR an exchange of school classes was mentioned. Details have still to be worked out. In the economic sphere, firms from the Saarland are to be involved to a greater extent in the modernization of GDR enterprises.

Lafontaine also met Egon Krenz—the SED Politburo member responsible for security policy issues—on both days of his visit. When questioned he confirmed that he had also referred to actions by the security forces against members of independent groups in the GDR over the past few months. Despite very different attitudes, it was possible to discuss subjects of this nature quite openly. However, he refused to give details.

On the effects of the Soviet reform policy on the GDR, the GDR leadership referred with regard to democratization and glasnost to the GDR's situation as a result of its vicinity to the Federal Republic and the influence of the Western media. Referring to his discussion this morning with social scientists, Lafontaine said he believes that "sensitivity on ideological questions and questions concerning the necessary democratization" had "become greater" in the GDR. He urged further events of this nature, which had been received positively. The SPD politician explained his ideas about "society and the future" at the invitation of the East Berlin Institute for International Politics and Economy, and he stressed in particular the importance of freedom, solidarity, and responsibility of the individual. The ensuing discussion produced some objections to Lafontaine's views about the ecological crisis and the "dying category" of nation-states from the GDR audience, which also included military representatives. On the whole it was however free of serious controversy.

After the discussion, Institute Director Max Schmidt stated his willingness for further discussions of this nature. He could, for example, visualize such discussions with CDU politicians such as Kurt Biedenkopf and Lothar Spaeth.

Pope John Paul II Invited To Visit
LD2008182788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Pope John Paul II has been invited to visit Hungary. Cardinal Laszlo Paskai announced the invitation in a sermon he gave during a mass held in honor of St Stephen in front of St Stephen's Cathedral. Naturally, the invitation was also from the Hungarian state. As the cardinal has indicated, because of the prearranged programs of the pope, the visit can probably only take place in a few years.

Grosz Sends Condolences on Soviet Train Accident
AU2208095988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 88 p 7

[Text] Premier Karoly Grosz sent a telegram of sympathy and condolences to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the railroad accident that occurred between Moscow and Leningrad.

CPSU's Smirnov Speaks on Soviet History
LD2108200488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From "The Week" program: interview with Georgiy Smirnov, director of the CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute and chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, by unidentified interviewer; date, place not given; Smirnov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] Academician Georgiy Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, while he was in Hungary recently, said the following: I have endeavored to be of assistance to Gorbachev, mainly with my counsels of an ideological nature, in the problems connected with the shaping of the new way of political thinking. What interested me, first and foremost, was the personality, the role of human interests in socialism. I recommend to your attention the conversation that follows now also because a few such issues also crop up about which we have heard little or nothing at all. And it follows from this, too, that we are not adequately acquainted with the histories of other countries, or with the Soviet Union's history, to say nothing of our country's most recent history. In the Soviet Union, in the recent past, the archives have for the large part been opened up for researchers; and also for Hungarian researchers. This also makes topical the present interview.

[Smirnov] The well-known handbook entitled Brief History of the Soviet Union's Communist Bolshevik Party, makes it appear as if in our party right from the beginning, from the start of the century, had two leaders: Lenin and Stalin. The party, too, used to be referred to in this way: Leninist-Stalinist party. In practice, we always put an equal-sign between the two names. Naturally, Stalin also paid certain compliments to Lenin, since he called himself a disciple. This, however, did not prevent him setting himself up as of equal rank. Let me give one example, which will make it clearer also to Hungarian television viewers what we are talking about. Lenin said that Bolshevism, as an ideological-political tendency, appeared in our country in 1903. The essential thing about this is that the party came into being at that time. In the brief party history we find something different: that the Bolshevik Party was founded in 1912 because we have to date the foundation of the party to the time of the sixth, Prague conference. It was then that Comrade Stalin was, so to say, elected as a member of the Central Committee.

Where is the falsification in this? First of all, the intention to boost the role of Stalin, or to mention Stalin as the founder of the Bolshevik Party, or at least as one of its founders. Second, it is not even true that Stalin had anything to do with the Prague conference. He did not even have an indirect connection with it. During this period he was in exile in the Turukhansk region. The work of the Russian Revolutionary Committee, which was carrying out the preparations of the Prague conference, was directed by Ordzhonikidze. In this same brief version of party history they struck out, literally struck out, many active politicians who had stood at the head of the party at the time of the October Revolution, who directed the party organization, those who formed the group we call the Leninist guard and who formed the majority of those Communists Stalin had executed. Stalin set himself the task to elevate himself to party leader, one who had already been the party leader before the revolution, and he did not want any witnesses to remain who well knew this was not so. That was evidently one of the reasons for the executions.

If one reads the brief party history, one sees with surprise how extremely few, I could say miserably few, there were around Lenin. And those who were around him, even they took a stand against him. One does not understand how this could be possible. They entered the party at the beginning of the century, when Lenin founded it, and then took part in two, even three revolutions. And then they suddenly became agents? Did they become spies, terrorists, and so on? With this, however, in practice a shadow was cast on the party, even on Lenin. Lenin actively cooperated with Trotskiy and Kamenev, and with Zinoviev.

[Interviewer] With everyone who it later turned out were enemies of the people?

[Smirnov] With those who it turned out were enemies of the people.

[Interviewer] The events of the recent past also must be re-evaluated and no doubt not only by us, but probably by every socialist country. What is your opinion about this?

[Smirnov] Naturally, in the histories of the sister parties, there are complex periods to which from time to time we must return. We must examine carefully what really happened. How, for example, in your country, did the 1956 crisis evolve? We must return to this question probably time and time again. No doubt many, many books will still be written about this issue; much research will be carried out about this. For this reason, a re-evaluation could even come about. I have to say, however, that there could be a reaffirmation of the evaluation that entered historical science as the adequate historical analysis of the events. In these issues one will have to see more clearly yet, and develop a more precise picture.

[Interviewer] In my view, the issue of the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine also belongs here.

[Smirnov] About sovereignty?

[Interviewer] About sovereignty.

[Smirnov] Well, in my opinion, the way this usually happens in our country is that one or another of his statements, his sayings, will rub off [raragad] on someone. And we scientists, but even more so the journalists, you could say mostly the Western journalists, can no longer separate these from the person. Such is the Brezhnev Doctine, such is Khrushchev's statement when he said at the UN General Assembly: We will bury you, and so on. In my opinion, we have to start out from those statements, which were made not merely by former Soviet leaders, but those which have been heard since, for example, from the mouth of Mikhail Gorbachev, who is promising not only a new direction, a new political thinking, but a new thinking, a new thinking in which the old-style statements lose their meaning.

One has to take seriously principles such as sovereignty, independence, responsibility, the right to independent, particular, development, regardless of what Soviet Communists think about this.

New Romanian Agro-Industrial Centers Cited

AU2208123988 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Romanian Dailies Report on New Agro-Industrial Centers"]

[Excerpt] The Hungarian-language daily ELORE published in Bucharest reports on new agro-industrial centers under construction. It reports on Gyergyoalmas which, in the paper's view, is already an economically and socially developed settlement.

More than 100 blocks of flats have been built in this village in Harghita county in recent years. In addition, a health-care establishment, pharmacy, several commercial and service units, a school, and a cultural house have also been built here. At present, there are four-story blocks of flats under construction in this village.

The central trade union daily MUNKASELET reports on the village of Lovrin which will become an agro-industrial center. Three smaller villages belong administratively to this well-known settlement in Banat: Kisosz (Gottlob), Nagyosz (Tomnatic), and Vizesd (Vizejdia). The first block of flats in Lovrin was built back in 1974, and their number has since increased to eight. The new blocks of flats will generally be four-storied buildings. Modern flats are also under construction in Kisosz and Nagyosz, but Vizesd will practically cease to exist because the 1,200 houses that currently make up this small village are mostly run down and have become unhealthy MUNKASELET points out. [passage omitted]

Premier Grosz To Visit GDR 8-9 September

LD1908205188 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, is to pay an official friendship visit to the German Democratic Republic on September 8-9 at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

Szuros Makes Constitution Day Speech

LD2008130888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Speech by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at 20 August festivities marking Constitution Day, at Eger Castle, Heves County—recorded]

[Text] It is of decisive significance that the changes which we are experiencing should enjoy the active support of our entire people. This is only possible if we put an end, once and for all, to the division between the power and the people. We must create an atmosphere of mutual trust which is indispensible for progress, which can only be maintained through constant and meaningful dialogue, and which can be guaranteed by familiarity with and consistent representation of the real interests and problems of the people, the working people.

Open debates, openness, and publicity are needed. Only in this way can the people be given what belongs to them: the exercise of power.

Stephen I, the country's forward-looking and enlightened leader, decided himself what his people had to do, and if he had to he forced through his will by fire and sword.

We live in different times today. It is not possible, nor is it desirable, that a narrow circle of the initiated should decide from above—even if they are citing the people—what should be done. The democratic conditions which liberate the energies of society, a new kind of democratic socialism constructed from below, must be created jointly.

The key question of the future remains economic work. But it is indispensable that a better, more helpful, sociopolitical system of institutions should surround the Hungarian economy. And an integral component of this is social self-organization [onszervezodes], the encouragement of initiative, its liberation, the expansion of the subjective rights of the individual on a constitutional basis, and the clearer regulation of his duties.

An essential feature of the example of Stephen is adaptation to the determining external environment, the readiness and ability to attain this. Today, this is once again a question of fate here. King Stephen aligned himself to reality in opposition to old ideas. We must also free ourselves of our spiritual shackles. We must implant in this region all noble and good creations of civilization, humane and democratic conduct, patience, and attention to one another. It is my conviction that this is the endeavor which must fundamentally determine the contacts our country maintains with the outside world, the goals of Hungarian foreign policy as well.

For Hungary, building wide-ranging ties with the East and the West has equal importance, together with the development of trust and cooperation in the international arena. The credible picture the world has of us serves as moral and material capital. It is our conviction that we can build on this in all spheres.

The credibility of our word is especially important when destructive storms are harming the national self-awareness of Hungarians, and even, as is the case in Transylvania, when their survival is threatened.

We know that the government was late in raising its voice in public on behalf of the Hungarians living beyond our borders, but it is still not too late. We regard them as an organic part of the Hungarian nation; our political domain has a sense of responsibility for their fate. Our actions are in harmony with moral norms and the norms of international law—with their spirit and letter—which are recognized and accepted by the family of nations.

It is our conviction that in relations among civilized states the nationalities can represent bonds of great tensile strength, which can exert a beneficial effect on not only bilateral relations but also on the overall climate of whole regions. It is regrettable that people are not able to reconize this everywhere. We consider it extremely important that the world should see and be sensitive to the fact that intolerable events are taking place in Romania. The civilized nations cannot watch passively as bulldozers moved by enraged passions erase from the face of the earth the centuries-old Hungarian, German, Romanian, Serbian, and Jewish heritage. How is it possible to remain passive and silent when confronted with such a situation?

We wish for nothing else than a return to the nationality policy conditions, to the spirit, which characterized Petru Groza's government in Romania, true to the promises he reaffirmed at the 1947 Paris peace conference. A return to Groza is not a return to the past. On the contrary, by recalling examples which point forward we wish to prepare for the future. And the question is not only that of the eradication of villages, the erasure of the millenial traces of the nationalities, but more than that: Will Europe's largest nationality, the more than 2 million-strong Hungarian community in Romania, be accorded the individual and collective rights it is entitled to, including the creation of personal, regional, and cultural autonomy?

We are convinced that when the sole means of solving disputed questions between states is a negotiated settlement, only action by the international democratic public can lend credibility and emphasis to our sincere readiness for dialogue and our unchanged willingness to come to an agreement.

This is why we are turning to world opinion, asking it to raise its voice of protest against rights being trampled underfood.

Pozsgay Speech Honors St Stephen, Constitution

LD2008212488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1330 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] Dear viewers, this morning we recorded the festive speech given by Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, at Pecsvarad. We will now broadcast excerpts [as heard] from it. Why did he deliver it at Pecsvarad? One reason is that 950 years ago a monastery was consecrated there. The anniversary of this coincided with the anniversary of St Stephen's death. Let us hear the speech:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] Esteemed audience, dear friends. On this hot end-of-summer day, we who have been able to gather here at Pecsvarad have all built in our souls a shady festive pavilion. It is homey; we feel ourselves at home in our own souls, and it strikes us as a discovery that we have a festive nature, that we can stop for a moment in the midst of our everyday lives, and that in this everyday existence we can stop so that when we start again we are other than those stopped short. I thought about this when, partaking in this kind reception, I tried to formulate my task and to say what I had to say. It would be a pity to ruin this festive mood, the

coziness of the pavilion, the sense of being cozy. Yet if you neverthelesss hear me express objective thoughts, which are more akin to everyday affairs, I would ask you to consider them not as pleasure-spoiling, but as munitions necessary for our advance, for our further progress, if you can identify with that, and to protest if you reject my words, my thoughts.

Now, throughout the country, people are commemorating King Stephen, the founder of the state. Today it is his nameday, and we have been marking the 950th anniversary of his death, since the Day of Our Lady, 15 August. Everyone has encountered the concept which connects us, through our statehood, through our national unity, with this region, with our community, by our community, with Europe. And if we praise the work of King Stephen, then first and foremost we think of the state in which he created solid institutions. He enacted the Hungarian statute, and with his exhortations he brought into existence the conduct necessary for the realization of the law. Therefore, he was able to form, from an ancient community, with strength and a spirit of doing good, a new community which was able, with faith and morality, with a sense of justice, each according to his capacities, to create in this region a real, not illusory, national community.

The state as a life's work is in this case more than the isolated power of state; in this case it is also the embodiment of Hungarian morality, the solid institution of community building. To praise this work is not unworthy; we would be unworthy of our own tasks if we did not think of this.

Barely half a century after his death, Stephen was caronized in Rome. For many, who approach this fact with a Catholic faith, it is a sacred memory and experience, and a sublime commitment of faith, worthy of respect. Those who look on this historic deed with a different kind of world outlook will think with no less exaltation, perhaps together with our religious friends, that this canonization carries some kind of message for us all: That this was the first diploma of our European existence. And with the European recognition of our presence, together with our recognition of Europe, a new kind of history started, full of vicissitudes. While Europe had previously wanted to cast us out as strangers, on the basis of its poor acquaintance with the history of badly-behaved hordes, this Europe later wanted to incorporate us in such a way that we should also lose our self-identity, and according to this insidious plan we would have had to experience European culture, European culture, no longer as Hungarians.

Thus it was precisely the work of state foundations, the splendid and solid institutions—in which one can believe and which also create morality—which made it possible for us, with this diploma in our hands, to be Europeans and civilized without ceasing to be Hungarians, and to bring to Europe the gift of our national identity, to prove that we are not inferior to others. That was the really great deed which could not have happened without Stephen's initiatives, and yet which can not remain as a fact without our participation.

I think that we all, or very many of us, think of this when, evoking St Stephpen's memory on the 950th anniversary of his death, we add something else: As a deeply faithful, religious man, who fully understood the world of his age, he brought Hungary into the Christian cultural sphere; this legacy is the legacy of us all, believers and nonbelievers alike.

And then it happened—with him, as with every great historic figure—that the various ages began explaining his deeds to their own advantage, to appropriate them, to use them as self-vindication. We need not wonder at this, only we must forget this part of history. It is worth noting just one thing: That while the estates united under the aegis of the Holy Crown wandered this way and that, and while the borders of the countries, like furniture, could be pushed this way and that, one thing is essential: The homeland must be built and safeguarded as a native land, first and foremost in one's soul. In that case, no matter what historical judgements are made about no matter what kinds of occupation and adverse possession in the history of Europe, one thing is essential: We should not allow the homeland to be torn out of our soul, because history can not be annexed; everyone should proclaim it his own and consider it his own.

For this reason it is timely, today and always, to speak about history, because whoever is obliged to make do with the opium of falsified history will, in the end, live as a maladjusted nation, as a maladjusted person. Whoever can learn real history and can live to continue it, he will be able to exist as a community building person, even in the most wretched circumstances. It is this which comes to mind on the feast of King St Stephen and on the 950th anniversary of his death.

And something else: The parallels, which must of course be handled very carefully. Among the parallels, it is perhaps most timely today—remembering also the Constitution, and respecting our Constitution—to think about how we stand today with our institution. Should we not encompass again in a reformed constitution, in national morality, in a feeling of justice, with the proud knowledge of constitutional statehood, a Hungariand statehood in renewal? I think it is a timely task to reply to this question, and in this respect, although our task cannot be measured against the work of Stephen, we unworthy descendants can do something. For if we look around this region, and around today's Hungary, then we see that something has gone wrong with us. Not a small part of these troubles has been caused by, swept onto us, by the world, and it has always been a battle task to ward off the world in this region. Today, it is a milder task, but it is still a task.

But we brought a part of these troubles onto ourselves. Perhaps we did not notice in time that we lost our faith in the affairs of our institutions. Perhaps they do not now direct individual endeavor and personal well-being onto the path, to be connected to the common good, and for this reason, a little, here and there, on the edges, the country is showing signs of falling apart, of crisis. That is what I was referring to just now when I said that perhaps the everyday things would seem like pleasure-spoiling; and our ears are sensitive to every dissonance, although this dissonance arose among us, with us; it happened with us. In my opinion, until our honest talents manifest themselves again in economic achievement, we should work for a renewal of the state, of society, in which the common good and personal prosperity meet in a kind of resurging civic existence.

Anyone here from the festive audience, just as much as from any other region of the country, can say: Is there not some kind of imploring in this request? There is. This usually happens when it is hard to govern a country, because the convincing strength necessary for governing is missing, as is the resolve to support the governing. I think that these two have not yet terminally separated in today's Hungary. But, I think it would be a pity to close our eyes to the fact that that this kind of tension has come into being, and from this, here and there, inner conflicts [meghasonlottsag] have already come into being.

For this reason, I repeat, a new constitutional framework, a developed state renewal, a constitutional framework which carries the experiences of human civilization, just as it does the historical relics of Hungarian constitutional law, is needed, so that our institutions should once again manifest, call forth, and generate faith, morality, solidarity, and willingness to cooperate.

I believe that if we speak about this openly, even at festive forums, the question of whose country this is must also be clarified. According to our constitutions to date, we have been able to give a sensible, rational answer to this question. It has nevertheless become topical once again, so we must once more say something about our Magyarhood, about our nation. This country belongs to those who live in Hungary, to the citizens living here, who consider themselves sharers and participants in this homeland. Whether they were born here or not, whether they find their native land to be here on these mere 93,000 square kilometers or not, the country belongs to those who call it their own.

For this reason—because this way of thinking has always been characteristic of the Hungarian people, and because the Hungarian nation has been a nation of a receptive nature—we have a basis for our existence. That is why we had chances for survival even in the well-known history full of vicissitudes. But for this we also had to learn coexistence. And precisely because we have been learning it for a thousand years, we in Hungary have also learned that we can only be a receptive nation if we take cognizance of—and moreover, enthusiastically welcome—the very important historical fact that everyone can choose Hungary and Magyarhood in such a way that at the same time they can retain their own national identity, their own national self-identity.

In other words, here, and on this land, not without trouble and at times at the cost of bitter experiences, we have learned that the coexistence of peoples cannot depend on a fleeting age of political practices. It can only be born of the cooperation of nations and nationalities dependent on one another. For this reason today's Hungary, and within it Hungarian society, lives together with the nationalities who call this homeland their own as compatriots, and who consider their presence in today's Hungary as one of the sources of our wealth. Our desire is that they should strengthen in self-confidence, should realize their place in their political institutions, should profess their allegience with heads held high, and should dip proudly into their mother countries' experience of culture, history, and civilization, and that they should be good compatriots in building this homeland. This outlook and this requirement of coexistence do not desire agitation and political tactics among the peoples.

I could quote Bartok, who said: The people have learned how to live together; it is always the authorities who create conflict and hostility between them. Well, Hungary has not and must never have authorities who want to solve social problems by way of creating conflicts; rather, let them, recognize the source of this richness, let them utilize it, let every government in this region learn that which the people have been learning for thousands of years.

The fact that these words have a bitter topicality is something that everyone here knows. Not everyone respects this European, and simply human, norm. That which is happening in contemporary Romania, and that which is being prepared there, because of the incomprehensible and idiotic [erthetetlen, eszeloes] political program of its leaders, evokes contempt in the Romanian people, the Hungarians, Saxons, Serbians, Slovaks, and everyone living there who has been hit by the common fate in that region. This is an injury to European civilization, a crime against humanity.

It is not questions of Hungarian-Romanian relations that are being discussed here, but the question of how it could have happened, to the people's shame, and to a not inconsiderable extent, to the shame of socialism, that plans such as this can be made at the end of the 20th century in Europe. In these, we all, Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and every nation, Germans, and all those who have anything to do with this region and homeland, are in agreement. Although I have spoken about our troubles and vicissitudes, there is something which links us: In this homeland, even if someone defines himself as a member of a national minority, he can live here with a proud consciousness of his rights and of his cultural heritage within

the framework of the idea that he participates in the enrichment of the country. No one here can be forced to exhibit a behavior denigrating his mother country. This, I think, is in line with Hungarian ethics and the demands of European civilization.

Such thoughts enter our heads on this beautiful festive day, and even though one can pass over many things in history, we cannot pass over this fact without speaking about it. As regards this year, it has brought some good, and has also continued the bad. Our experience is still connected to the bad, and we search falteringly, fumbling for the possibilities of resurgence, and, sometimes cursing, wrangling with anger and defiance, we call to account the lack of cooperation.

I would like to say one thing, speaking after a good harvest and before a less-promising gathering-in this fall. This earth produces, in this or that form, the bread for its people, to a measure that perhaps it can also offer some to other people. If it happens thus with the earth, then this must happen with our talents, with the whole of our economy. But it is no good if the power rebukes the people, starts to lecture them that they are not working. I think it is dialogue which is needed here, a dialogue in which power makes its endeavors open, communicates with society in a constitutional way, and the people, as mature and responsible citizens, rising above the sense of being subordinate, take on their own role in the tasks awaiting us.

Much is being said here about the debt and the possibilities for raising new support. Economists know that this has its significance in a national economy. Nonetheless, I repeat that which we have experienced together during these thousand years: No one has ever given anything to these people for nothing. Things were more often carried away from here than brought here. Thus, in the future as well, we will have to order our own affairs by our own strength, as conscious citizens of this homeland, cooperating with each other, speaking about and pursuing the public good, in Hungary which is undergoing renewal.

We have to create a democratic, socialist Hungary, which everyone who lives in this region feels to be his own. These are the ideas which went through my head in the optimistic hope that perhaps all this is not far from the thoughts of those present here. Looking around this beautiful part of the world it occured to me that this belongs to the whole of Hungary, that this is our common inheritance, and this is where we would like to live, to be at home, all of us. We cannot do this, and thus at first those of us who have come from further away are made envious by Pecsvarad and the slopes of the Eastern Mecsek, this hilly Pannonian countryside. But then we recognize that we need not be envious; we must be aware that this is indeed our common homeland, that our representatives here, the inhabitants of Pecsvarad, those who live in this district, in Baranya County, look after this area well, take care of the homeland. Thus the entire country commissions them, lets them, manage well this part of the country. Let them rise together with the nation, let us help together in the creation of socialist Hungarian prosperity. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] Dear viewers, that was a recording of the full text [as heard] of the speech Imre Pozsgay delivered at Pecsvarad.

Reportage on Continuing Worker Unrest 19 Aug

Council of Ministers on Strikes

LD1908213688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers has assessed the development of the socioeconomic situation in the context of the illegal strike actions in several hard coal mines in Katowice Voivodship, in the port of Szczecin, and in the municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin.

It was stated that the inspirers and organizers of the illegal strikes were aiming to exploit the material difficulties and shortcomings in daily life, which are an undisputed fact. In particular, the planned goals of this year's prices-and-incomes operation were not achieved. Inflation is higher assumed. In the summer months, market difficulties intensified. The increased purchasing of goods was not accompanied by a sufficient increase in supplies to the market.

An all-round analysis and assessment of the unfavorable course of some economic processes was made by the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

On implementing the decisions of the seventh plenum, the government made a number of decisions which will prevent a deterioration in market supply. Urgent solutions have been prepared in the sphere of prices and incomes to more firmly halt inflation and to more successfully protect the peoples' living conditions. All destabilizing and anarchic actions can only disturb these solutions and delay them. Wherever possible the central administration has been taking steps toward an immediate improvement of working and pay conditions.

It should be recalled that demands made by illegally striking miners had been announced after 11 August, after the minister of industry and the Federation of Miners Trade Unions agreed on a decree by the Council of Ministers concerning the implementation of a Miners Charter within the framework of the amended bill on enterprise remuneration systems. Both sides also established a way for working on the long-term settlement of working and pay conditions in the mining industry. It should be stated that apart from demands submitted by strikers—which are often of local character and can be resolved by way of legally provided negotiations—there are also economic demands which drastically exceed economic potential and threaten its ruin. On the other hand, some of these demands indicate a request to return to unsuccessful and compromised centralist order and [word indistinct] system.

Making these demands indicates a withdrawal from the trend to base the economy on healthy and honest economic accounting.

The Council of Ministers also pointed out that Polish law provides for universal and exhaustive procedure for collective conflicts, including a strike. The illegal character of present actions is connected with a complete bypassing of the procedure, thus it constitutes a glaring violation of the principles of legality and equality of all citizens before the law, with all ensuing consequences. It objectively strikes a blow against the policy of reform, dialogue, and national accord.

Instigators and organizers of illegal strikes, where as a rule only part of the workforce take part, on numerous occasions raise the issue of reactivating the former Solidarity. This is an unrealistic demand. As there will be no return to the situation of pre-August 1980, there will also be no return to the situation of 1981.

The government has been acquainted with the most important dangers connected with the continuation of illegal strike actions.

In the case of hard coal mines, particularly July Manifesto, there exists a risk of self-ignition of deposits if normal exploitation is not resumed soon.

With regard to the port of Szczecin, the present situation threatens Poland's credibility as a partner in economic cooperation with foreign countries.

The daily losses in sales of transloading services exceeds 60-65 million zloties. They are accompanied by the duty to make high hard currency payments to foreign shipowners. In addition, there are contractual fines for the failure to effect exports on time and the loss of orders and transit services. Already now some of our partners' ships are having to be directed to foreign ports. The strike in the port also means a deterioration in the supply of goods for the market and for production needs.

The Council of Ministers has also carried out a preliminary investigation of the direct economic effects of the illegal strikes. By the end of 18 August in coal mining, the losses amounted to some 1 billion zloties—$1 million. The maintenance of the present situation would be synonymous with a daily loss of the excavation of coal of at least 50,000 tonnes. The government stresses that the prolongation of the illegal strikes would lead to the multiplication of losses and to easily forseeable severe disturbances in the functioning of the entire national economy. Their cost weighs not only on the direct participants of these actions but also on all society, each citizen.

The Council of Ministers, expressing respect for all working people who carry out their duties with dedication, at the same time requests all workforces to understand that illegal strikes will not only not solve any of the Polish problems but will quite simply worsen them. At

the same time the government states that necessary economic and administrative actions would be undertaken in accord with the law with regard to the primary interests of Poland.

Szczecin Bus Crews Not Working

LD1908163088 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] According to information received a few minutes ago in the voivodship municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin, bus drivers and tram crews in Niemierzyn depot are still not working. Civic duty for Szczecin inhabitants is still being carried out by the remaining tram depots in the city.

An illegal sit-in strike in the port of Szczecin continues where several vessels of various nationalities are waiting for loading or unloading. Also more and more vessels are arriving at the entry to the port of Szczecin; some are going to Rostock and Hamburg.

Objectives of Szczecin Strikes

LD1908215588 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 19—According to the information supplied by the director of the voivodship public city transport enterprise here, the average monthly pay of an employee of the enterprise amounted to 51 thousand zlotys.

Whereas, last June, when latest pay rises in public transport enterprises entered force, the average pay amounted to 59,600 zlotys. Consequently, workers of the Szczecin enterprise placed fourth or fifth among other workers of their profession in Poland.

Meanwhile, workers on illegal strikes made a demand to raise the lowest monthly pay for drivers of public transport vehicles to a 100-thousand-zlotys level in normal working time (over-time hours excluded), or in other words to raise hourly wages from the present 256 zlotys to 560 zlotys. For technical and maintenance workers they demanded the minimum monthly pay of 70 thousand zlotys.

Absurdity of such exorbitant pay demands among workers who are not the worst-paid ones if compared with other professional groups reveals and confirms the political objective of the illegal strike. Money is not the point here.

Gdansk, Gdynia Management Takes Over Ships

LD1908165688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] The port management in Gdansk and Gdynia are taking over vessels which, due to the illegal strike, cannot be serviced in the port of Szczecin. Altogether 53 vessels are berthed in Gdansk, and 23 in Gdynia.

Szczecin Port Director Makes Final Appeal

LD1908214088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] This is Teodor Baranowski speaking from Szczecin. Here is the text of a communique which the director of the Board of the Port of Szczecin, Jan Wieclaw, addressed to the workforce of Szczecin port this afternoon.

In connection with the protracted, illegal strike, which is preventing the servicing of goods, ships, railcars, and other means of transport in the Szczecin port, I inform you that tomorrow I will be forced to turn to the founding body for the suspension of the port's activity. The reason of the above application are mounting losses to the national economy, resulting from the stoppage of the port. I therefore turn to the workforce once again with a call for the immediate commencement of work.

Szczecin, 19 August, 1988.

Cost of Szczecin Port Strike Assessed

LD1908170688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] The port of Szczecin is working out its first losses resulting from the unlawful strike. The economists calculate that in normal conditions the port administration earned Z60-65 million daily from services such as transloading, towing, and so on. Now there is no income, while the maintenance of the port potential, whether it is being used or not costs Z30-35 million every day. So one day of the unlawful strike costs the port Z90-100 million. There are also losses suffered by the port's customers. Ship owners are losing out as the result of idling ships and lost cargo which could be carried if the ships could sail. The Polish State Railways are not fulfilling their freight plans, while transit partners are sending some of their vessels along different routes. Raw material deliveries are being delayed. Holding these in the port might cause supply difficulties for works in various industries, including ore for steelworks and apatites and phosphates for chemical works.

There are reports that foreign customers are losing confidence in Polish ports.

Local Press Denied Access to Strike

LD1908131088 Warsaw PAP in English 1230 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 19—"I Was Given No Chance" and "Reporter's Notes From Jastrzebie" are the headlines published today in the Katowice-based morning dailies the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA and the DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, respectively.

The reporters describe how the striking miners of the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery implement the 14th point of their own postulates which is worded as

follows: "To provide free flow of information and make the news about the strike which began on August 15/16, 1988 available to the public through mass media."

"I did not manage to enter the premises under strike and hold any official talk there", says newswoman of the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. "There were no obstacles for the American television, but no chance was given to me despite the fact that in my yesterday's report I had not toyed with any speculations concerning either the wages or the number of strikers. Strikers were not allowed to talk with reporters about this even over the fence," she wrote.

"To fulfill 'postulate' No. 14, I still have to use only information provided by the colliery's management, contrary to the American television team that was let into the premises of the colliery by the striking miners before my eyes," the DZIENNIK ZACHODNI reporter said.

Katowice Council Discusses Strike

LD1908175288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Today, at an extraordinary meeting of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council [WRN] Presidium, the voivodship discussed the sociopolitical and economic situation. A statement notes that profound disquiet was expressed as regards both the form and extent of the miners' protests.

The measures adopted by both the Minister of Labor and social policy and the hard coal community, the mine managements, and prosecutor's organs aimed at resolving the conflicts—we read in the document—are justified and permit an appropriate end to the disputes for the workforce.

We appeal, therefore, to the mining brotherhood, their families, the mining youth, and to all voivodship society to maintain common sense, understand the gravity of the situation, and comply with the proposed solutions.

The current strike situation has already caused enormous losses which will continue to rise, says the statement of the Katowice WRN.

Miners Guild Presents Urgent Postulates

LD1908165388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Trade unionists of the Lublin-Chelm Miners Guild in Bogdanka presented 19 postulates for urgent settlement to the director of the guild, in connection with the growing dissatisfaction of work crews. They are of an economic nature and concern improvements in the organization of work in the mines and also improvements in supplies. Six further postulates exceeding the powers of the director were directed, through his intercession, to the relevant authorities.

The miners from Bogdanka are demanding, an increase in remunerations on normal working days—from Monday to Friday—to a degree whereby still this year, the relation between their wages and those in industry should amount to 1.7 to 1; the unfreezing of miner's privileges; granting the 14th pay packet for manual workers and [word indistinct] employed in mine maintenance; the revalorization of pensions and mining annuities in accordance with the increase in mining wages; and making uniform the payment of family allowances regardless of income.

After a several-hour stormy meeting, the trade unionists reached agreement in principle and agreed on methods and deadlines for implementing their demands. Certain matters have still to be settled, and in connection with this talks will be continued next week.

Lublin-Chelm Guild Head Comments

LD1908190088 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Lublin, Aug. 19—Unionists of the Lublin and Chelm Hard Coal Guild in Bogdanka, near Lublin, eastern Poland, presented to the guild director 19 demands to be dealt with urgently because of mounting dissatisfaction of worker crews.

The demands are of economic nature and concern improvement of work organization and supplies at Bogdanka's mine. Six further demands which are beyond the director's authority were forwarded through him to appropriate authorities.

Bogdanka miners demand their wages earned on working days between Monday and Friday be increased so that the ratio between their pay and the pay in industry in general was 1.7 to 1.

Their other demands include defrosting of miner privileges, granting of a 14th salary (traditional annual bonus equalling average monthly pay) to manual and control workers employed at the mine, revaluation of miner pensions and disability allowances in proportion with pay rise in mining as well as rendering family benefits uniform irrespective of income.

Following our request, a meeting was held between miners and the guild directors during which all demands were discussed in detail, president of the trade union of workers of the Lublin and Chelm Hard Coal Guild at Bogdanka Jan Sauer, told PAP.

After several hours of fiery discussion, we basically reached an agreement and adopted methods and deadlines for materialization of our demands. Certain issues remain yet to be brushed up, however, and thus the talks are to be continued next week, Sauer said.

All our demands dealing with the mine's internal affairs have been arranged positively, went on the trade union president. As for issues which are beyond the director's authority, and particularly those concerning pay, crew's demands resulted for the most part from insufficient information.

Those issues are the topic of negotiations between our federation (the Federation of Miner's Trade Unions) and the government, and they are partly being fixed. We explained all this in detail during the meeting, Jan Sauer observed.

We did not down tools and we did not threaten anybody with a strike, for we believe that all other possibilities have to be exhausted first. What is the point in striking if our demands are being met. President Sauer said in conclusion.

Sosnowiec Miners Make Economic Demands

LD2008183088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Yesterday, during the second shift in the Kazimierz Juliusz mine in Sosnowiec, part of the workforce did not begin work, supporting the economic postulates put forward by the miners of the July Manifesto mine. Among the demands postulated: unblocking miner's privileges; raising the average wage in mining; modifying the principles of working on Saturday and on holidays; making family benefits uniform. All other problems concerning life and work of the workforce of the Kazimierz Juliusz mine will be settled on an immediate basis in the form of mine management meetings with work force representatives. The assembled did not take up demands of a political nature. After presenting the declaration, normal work recommenced.

Walesa's Activities Noted

LD1908190488 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—Another ship was launched today at the Gdansk shipyard. This giant plant works as usual. Whereas, one of the plant's employees, Lech Walesa, is not working. He took a sick leave. But by no means does it mean that he is receiving some treatment.

The AFP agency announced even earlier a rally at the Gdansk shipyard. It was supposed to take place as early as yesterday. And it was supposed to mobilize the shipyard crew for an illegal strike.

Walesa showed up at the shipyard today. However, he went neither to his usual work stand nor to the shipyard's sick-bay. Instead, he addressed several dozen people during their breakfast break and declared his support for illegal strikes announcing that the shipyard's crew might be joining other strikers.

REUTER, the AFP, and other Western agencies reported the rally at the Szczecin shipyard with the turnout of several hundred workers and the wave of illegal strikes swept further across Poland.

This is nothing new under the sun. Walesa supports any illegal strike just as he supported economic sanctions aimed by certain Western states against Poland. And for both the strikes and sanctions entire Polish society must pay.

And neither is it a new practice that Western agencies and Polish-speaking Western radio stations tuned for broadcasts in Poland should keep on airing their coverage of such actions.

Meanwhile, his part completed, Walesa retired to his home and continues to "recuperate" on his sick leave.

Morcinek Mine Strike Updated

LD1908223888 Warsaw PAP in English 2201 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 19—On third day of strike in the Morcinek mine today strikers threatened that they would not let in any servicemen maintaining the colliery operational. But after negotiations eleven strikers went down to control the mine's main drainage equipment and keep constant watch over a store of explosives. However, no technical inspector was allowed to go down, and eleven persons was too small a number to properly protect the colliery functioning in extremely complicated mining-geological conditions, a serious water threat among them.

Said Jerzy Kalinowski, chairman of the Board of the Mine's Trade Union: "At 8 hrs this morning two out of three drainage pumps were out of order. If such a small number of persons went down, they might not have managed to repair them. I have worked 14 years in a colliery, and I am terrified with the ignorance and approach of the people to the issue of the enterprise's safety. Among strikers there are many young people who are not sufficiently experienced."

After a communique of the chief engineer, strikers allowed 50 workers, as required, to go down during the afternoon shift. They chose 25 persons among themselves. The rest was selected by the mine's management.

Strikers did not want to discuss the situation underground, their postulates and intentions with anybody. Many of them were getting tanned. Some were sitting in a marking section or baths. Others kept guard over the shaft top. Some were visited by wives as there is free access to the mine.

Among the 3.5 thousand-crew some 250 workers are on strike.

Losses Due To Colliery Strikes

LD1908184688 Warsaw PAP in English
1730 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug 19—Illegal strikes continuing at six collieries of the Katowice Voivodship bring great economic losses to the national economy, and followingly, to entire society. Estimated at 125,620 tonnes, the value of coal which has not been mined as planned amounts to over 1 billion 627 million zlotys at selling price, told PAP Andrzej Porebski, director of the coal sale central office here.

Every day, 57,240 tonnes of hard coal do not reach the surface. The Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] Colliery has suffered largest financial losses estimated at 727 million zlotys as of today, for 50,300 tonnes of coal have failed to be excavated since the strike started. First disturbances in supplies of coking coal to national metallurgy are being observed.

Also, first inquiries are being sent in about Poland's capacity to meet requirements of agreements signed with foreign partners, for example, from Holand, Finland, Denmark and the FRG.

Everything depends on when the strikes are ended. Four collieries: Jastrzebie, Moszczenica, Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] and Trzydziestolecia PRL [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] designate every day some 12 thousand tonnes of coal for exports, which is one-fourth of total (daily) exports to capitalist countries.

And thus, if the strikes continue, everyday loss amounts to 600 thousand dollars. So far, 27,300 thousand tonnes of coal estimated at 1 million 365 thousand dollars have failed to reach foreign partners from the four collieries as of August 19.

As a result of the situation in the years 1980-1981, the 1981 exports level reached merely 15.1 million tonnes. Poland managed to double the amount last year and a further sales increase is planned which would ensure 800 million dollars for the national economy.

Miners' Union Official Interviewed

LD1908222088 Warsaw PAP in English
2133 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 19—Vice-Chairman of the Federation of Miners' Unions Stefan Piwonski answered in an interview for PAP the following questions: What problems relevant for miners are the most urgent to solve and how does the balance of unionist activity aimed at realizing miners' postulates look like.

"Undoubtedly, the greatest emotions and discussions are usually caused by pay problems. However, their settlement requires complex insight into issues related to miners' living standards and labour conditions. They cannot be examined without taking into consideration the issue of work on Saturdays, the restoration of privileges ensuing from the provisions of the miners' charter and also the functioning of the entire sphere of public services," he said.

"In connection with the price-income operation carried out last spring the federation decisively came out in defence of the interests of miners, critically assessing the material situation of miners' families against the background of introduced price hikes and a general increase in living costs. Negotiations with the government ended at the time in signing an agreement resulting in the regulation of pays, which created possibilities to raise basic wages and extras. However, as concerns a myth of high pays, it is necessary to once more recall that the fact that the mining mean pay exceeds the national average is caused by miners' working on Saturdays," Piwonski continued.

"The system of paying for the work on Saturdays, introduced in the country's specific situation, was meant to stimulate miners and make extra efforts to extract more highly demanded coal. As a result, an absurd situation was created which could not be maintained in the long run and in which one's pay for five days in a week was not sufficient and owing only to the work on Saturdays one could achieve a higher pay. Obviously, the work on Saturdays should be adequately paid but the status quo in which pays for the remaining days of the week are so small that the work on Saturdays becomes an economic constraint cannot be maintained. Thus, it is necessary to work out a new, complex concept of wages in mining."

"We pay keen attention to all postulates and suggestions forwarded by miners' crews. The federation is of the opinion that most issues are somehow interdependent and they should be approached in a complex way in order to be effectively solved. It is not possible to settle all issues at once. However, they all are tackled in our activity. Its direction is outlined by a program adopted at the first congress of our federation and by suggestions ensuing from everyday discussions among crews."

"Trade unions affiliated with the federation have been long raising the question of restoring rights included in the miners' charter for which miners were entitled for many years. It should be stressed that one can only speak of privileges in relation to those working under ground. Other workers employed in mining have the same rights as employees of other sectors. During talks at the Ministry of Industry last Aug 11 adopted was a draft ordinance taking into account proposals and suggestions of the federation. We have been assured that the ordinance will be issued still this month, taking effect as of Aug 1," Piwonski concluded.

Strikes Harm World Bank Talks

LD1908213988 Warsaw PAP in English
2043 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—Because of a new economic crisis and the lack of confidence in the political situation,

Poland lost access to credits in 1981. Since that time Poland has been running most of its trade operations in cash.

When Poland returned to the International Monetary Fund in 1987, there occurred a possibility to obtain an important credit from the World Bank in agreement with the IMF. Mutual contacts between representatives of Poland and both institutions have recently intensified. Several World Bank experts are coming to Poland each month. Poland's Vice-Premier Sadowski was in the West last June. In July a delegation of executives of the bank's board were in Poland. Western experts are well informed about the realities of Poland. They showed this in two reports on the state of Polish economy. They continue close monitoring of the actual social and economic changes in this country and are especially interested in how effective are the reformatory measures in Poland.

We can say that the illegal strikes last April and May were pouring sand into the idling cog-wheels of these negotiations. The standpoint of the partners is clear. Poland may expect an investment boost if it starts a programme of adjusting the economy to the debt servicing needs.

This is why the World Bank recognizes, in principle, the convergence of actions necessary for the improvement of Poland's credit worthiness with the ends of the economic reform. In principle, because the experts differ from us in viewing several issues: For example, they think Poland keeps planning too low dynamics of foreign trade cleared in convertible currencies. Like they do in relation to other indebted countries, they firmly hold the opinion that Polish society should tighten its belt and quickly pay the liabilities.

In a conversation with PAP, director of the World Bank's 4th Department for the Countries of Europe, Middle East, and North Africa Eugenio Lari said in the end of the last year that the Poles should support the programme of reforms because it is virtually their historic chance. Lari expressed an opinion that the programme of the reform's 2nd stage provides for reasonable proportions between the magnitude of sacrifice and the size of efforts and outlays necessary to achieve the goals of the reforms. He also recognized the necessity to increase the living standards, though not very rapidly in the first years. By this he ascertained the "philosophy" of the 5-year plan for the period 1986-90.

In July a delegation from the International Financial Corporation, linked to the World Bank, ended their Polish visit. Its representative spent three months in Poland last May. Conclusions and the corporation's stance on those spring strikes are still unknown. But there is fear that new strikes, especially those hitting at Polish exports, put off the day of signing the agreements which are so badly needed by Poland.

Coverage of National Work Stoppages 20 Aug

Reactivation of Solidarity Demanded

LD2008125688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Marek Borowiec report from Szczecin]

[Excerpts] The illegal strikes led by a section of the work forces of the port and the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise [WPKM] are continuing. The employees of the Golecin tram depot joined the strikers yesterday afternoon. This made the already difficult municipal transport situation still worse. The factory buses running on the streets in response to the appeal by the Szczecin Voivoda did not alleviate the difficulties much. They are also being alleviated by rail links which have been set up.

There are 28 vessels in both ports and on the roadstead. In Swinoujscie, the dockers are working on three vessels. The sit-in strike is still continuing, however, on all wharves of the port of Szczecin. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Municipal Economy Department of the voivodship office, the founding body of the voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise, are ready at any time to enter into talks with the striking bus drivers and tram drivers. Unfortunately, the strike committee is holding to its stance that an absolute condition for talks to start is the meeting of the political demands, which include first and foremost the introduction of trade union pluralism and the reactivation of NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity

Foreign Correspondents Banned

LD2008131888 Hamburg DPA in German 1213 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—On Saturday the Polish Foreign Ministry warned correspondents accredited to Warsaw not to enter the strike-bound enterprises in Upper Silesia and Szczecin. A press department statement handed to the correspondents says that such conduct by the correspondents or their technical personnel will be considered a violation of the law. [passage omitted]

More Tram Workers Join Transport Strike

LD2008182888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] A report from Szczecin.

[Unidentified correspondent] On Saturday there was again no work in the port of Szczecin. As a result of the strike, as we reported, work was interrupted at the small cargo and bulk cargo transhipment enterprises. In association with dragging out the strike, making the servicing of cargoes of ships, wagons and other means of transportation impossible, Jan Wieclaw, the main director of the port board, has stated that he will be forced to approach

the founding body with a request to suspend the port's activity. The reason for the above approach is the growing loss to the national economy resulting from the port standstill.

When I visited the port this afternoon, no one from the port strike committee or from the interenterprise strike committee wanted to speak before the cameras. Taking these pictures was also not allowed, which I state at the request of the strikers.

The tram workers from the Niemierzyn and Golecino depots yesterday joined the workers of the voivodship urban transport enterprise bus depot at Klonowice Street and also in (?Zdapie) and in Police, who have been on strike since Thursday. In this case too, interviews before the cameras were refused. [video shows trams with banners saying "Occupation strike" and "Solidarity"]

Transport Workers Given Deadline

LD2008202588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] A communique has been issued by the director of the voivodship municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin. It is addressed to the workers of the eight sections of the enterprise which are refusing to work. The director states that, in connection with the prolonged illegal strikes which are disrupting the life of the city of 400,000 inhabitants and in light of unsuccessful attempts to persuade the strikers to resume work, if work is not resumed by 1400 hours on 21 August, that is tomorrow, he will suspend the department's operations and will ask the founding body to dissolve it.

Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Access Limited

LD2008202688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Until now the appeal of the director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port to undertake work by the illegally striking workers in the Szczecin port has not produced any effects. In association with this, the managing director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board suspends the usage activity of the Szczecin port as of 21 August, that is as of tomorrow at 0600.

As of tomorrow at 0600 in the morning, only workers authorized by the management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board have access to the premises of the port in Szczecin on the basis of special passes. Other persons and also port workers who have not received special passes and who find themselves on the premises of the enterprise will be obliged to depart immediately. Workers of other organizational units located on the premises of the port in Szczecin will also gain the right of access to the guarded area of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board on the basis of special passes.

Strikers Drafted in Jastrzebie

LD2008135088 Hamburg DPA in German 1256 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—Ten striking miners of the "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mine in Jastrzebie have been drafted to do military service, according to reports from Solidarity circles. The Solidarity adviser, Jacek Kuron, said in Warsaw on Saturday that a relevant announcement was read out over the internal enterprise radio. Those affected will have to report on Monday. Miners can be absolved from military service in Poland.

On Saturday police units were strengthened around the "July Manifesto" mine which houses the regional strike committee.

Defence Committee Views 'Threats'

LD2008172188 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—The National Defence Committee (KOK) held a meeting today presided over by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The National Defence Committee assessed the current socio-political and economic situation in Poland. Appropriate decisions were made in connection with the present threats.

Some Miners End Strike Action

LD2008181588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, a moment ago I received news from Silesia. It reads:

Only part of the workforces joined in the illegal strike action at the mines in the Katowice Voivodship. The declarations of the self-styled strike committees stating that they represent all employes are thus not in accordance with the truth. Pressure is being placed on miners. In the Andaluzja mine in Piekary Slaskie—where attempts to intimidate miners wishing to commence work took place—former Solidarity activists Kazimierz Switon was present. Bazyli Tyszkiewicz was also there. He gave instructions to the effect that the most important thing is to make the commencement of coal extraction impossible. Persons not agreeing with the form of protest were not allowed home: The mine gate was blockaded, not leaving them any choice.

In the Jastrzebie mine a group of miners who had been on strike were not allowed to leave the mine.

The directors of the mines have decreed that those miners who are ready to start work are to immediately report to special registration points. Today at the Jastrzebie mine, 953 miners declared their readiness to work;

the totals were 638 at the Moszczenica mine; 790 at "July Manifesto"; and over 1,300 at the "30 years of the Polish People's Republic" mine.

This gives the lie to the claims of the strike organisers that they represent all the miners.

'Pressure' Exerted on Some Miners

LD2008191188 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 20—Only a part of the crew went on strike in all the mines which started illegal strikes in the Katowice Voivodship. The statements by self-proclaimed strike committees to the effect that they represent all the employees are therefore not true.

Pressure is being exerted on miners. Former activist of "Solidarnosc" Kazimierz Switon stayed at the "Andaluzja" colliery in Piekary Slaskie where attempts were made to threaten miners wishing to start work. In the "Krupinski" mine people who did not agree with this form of protest were not allowed to go home. "The leaders" closed the mine gates before them, leaving them with no choice.

Also in the "Jastrzebie" mine a group of several dozen miners who had been on strike before were not allowed to leave the mine's premises. Crow-bars and other such objects are being readied for alleged defence purposes. Many normally operating mines are experiencing a rush of leaflets signed by the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] or "Solidarnosc."

On Saturday morning 953 miners declared they were willing to start work, 630 at the "Moszczenica" mine, 790 at the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manisesto] and over 1,300 at the "30-Lecia PRL" [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] mine. This denies the information supplied by the "organizers" holding that they represent all the miners. Were it not for the pressure which is still being exerted on the miners and their families, the number of people expressing their will to start work immediately would have been still greater.

More and more people are escaping from strike gatherings. All of this means that the miners' community is becoming increasingly aware of the fact that it was talked into a political wrangle.

Cave-in at 'July Manifesto'

LD2108153588 Warsaw PAP in English
1505 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 21—One of the walls of the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto] colliery caved in during the first shift on Saturday owing to the lack of competent people for protective works underground.

All the remaining walls are being endangered by further cave-ins, chief safety engineer Tadeusz Korzynski and mining works manager Edward Itko told PAP.

Security Forces on Alert Near Mines

AU2008191288 Paris AFP in English
1846 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20 (AFP)—Security forces based in Upper Silesia, Poland's mining centre, were placed on a state of alert Saturday and set up patrols and roadblocks in areas hit by the wave of miners' strikes, informed sources said.

Soldiers wearing combat fatigues and armed with automatic rifles patrolled streets in large groups, while others set up road blocks at the entrances to towns affected by the strikes, checking cars arriving and departing.

Helicopters and anti-riot squads have also been deployed by the security forces, mobilised for the first time since industrial unrest began last week.

Emergency services in hospitals were also alerted and measures taken to enable Upper Silesia's telephone lines to be cut, the sources said.

The measures followed an earlier meeting of the National Defence Committee (KOK), chaired by Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski, to take "appropriate decisions" on the situation, the official PAP news agency said.

No details of the KOK's decisions were released.

Overview of Strike Situation

LD2008215688 Warsaw PAP in English
2121 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 20—Groups of workers on illegal strikes in six collieries in the Katowice Voivodship were joined by groups of miners from another 4 coal mines: "1. Maja" in Wodzislaw Slaski, "Krupinski" in Suszec, "ZMP" in Zory and "Borynia" in Jastrzebie. Strikers exert pressure on those miners who want to start working. The authors of these illegal strikes cease to be anonymous as their true instigators are extremist activists of former "Solidarnosc" whose dilletantism in mining may bring disastrous effects.

Only part of the working crews participates in all the illegal strikes in the 10 collieries. Statements by the self-proclaimed strike committees that they represent all the employees are not true. People who did not agree with such a form of protest were not let go home in the Krupinski colliery in Suszec. The same happened in the Jastrzebie colliery in which organizers of the strike gather crowbars and bars which allegedly are to serve them for defence.

The psychological pressure exerted on strikers is expressed by the words: "You will make use of what we manage to negotiate."

Wild-cat strikes are controlled by a narrow group of people who do not hide their political aims. Activist of the former "Solidarnosc" Kazimierz Switon, staying in the Andaluzja colliery, said publicly through loudspeakers while addressing the miners: "Postulates are now a secondary issue. The most important thing is to stop coal extraction."

Directors of the still standing collieries ordered that the miners who would like to take up work may register at special points. Over 1,300 people called at such points on Saturday morning in the 30-Lecia PRL [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] colliery. Some thousand of workers applied also in the Jastrzebie colliery.

The finanical losses caused by strikes in the economy are growing. The value of coal not produced by Aug. 20 already exceeds 2.7 billion zlotys, its amount estimated at 215.5 thousand of tons, PAP was told by deputy director of the "Wegolzbyt" coal selling centre in Katowice Pawel Wilk. The total amount of 63.2 thousand tons of coal not supplied to foreign partners since August 20 deprived this country's budget of dlrs 3 million 160 thousand.

OPZZ Discusses Miners' Demands

LD2008133088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Opening the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ], Alfred Miodowicz recalled that a mere 6 weeks have passed since the trade unions analyzed the causes and effects of the social unrest at the turn of April and May. Meanwhile, the unrest is spreading. The OPZZ chairman stated that the economic demands put forward must be considered thoroughly and must not a priori be judged as unjustified.

Taking the floor, representatives of the trade unionists from the striking plants said that people were being compelled to strike under threat of the use of force. Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of the Trade Union of Mining Employees, stated that the incompetent management of the July Manifesto pit was responsible for the escalation of pit strikes.

Jerzy Marczak, trade unionist from the port of Szczecin, is of the opinion that the advisors who come to the plant from outside have a great influence on the striking port workers. Speakers from the floor are indicating that the most active protesters are young people. On the one hand, they are the easiest to manipulate and, on the other, the lack of prospects in life drives them to it.

At today's meeting, the OPZZ Executive Committee is to adopt a declaration on the current situation in Poland.

OPZZ Executive Committee Debates

LD2008202088 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) met in Warsaw today to assess the causes and discuss conclusions stemming from the current socio-political situation in Poland.

The meeting was attended by representatives of trade unions in those industrial plants which experience social unrest. The committee adopted a statement in which it addressed the speaker of the Polish Sejm (parliament) to convene an extraordinary meeting of the chamber to assess the political and economic situation in Poland and the methods of the government's managing and directing the economy. The statement was handed over to the Sejm speaker on the same day.

While opening the debates Alfred Miodowicz recalled that on July 7 the committee examined conclusions stemming from conflicts in industrial plants which had taken place in late April and early May. Today we are facing spreading social unrest again, he said.

"The stance to be adopted by the committee is primarily awaited by those crews which are working," Miodowicz said. "The work is not going on without conflicts there either. There is anxiey there and under way are trade union negotiations to defend the working crews' interests. This stance is awaited by the national trade union organizations which, while strenuously overcoming bureaucratic resistance of the administration, try to negotiate new collective labour contracts. It is also awaited by the crews which have suspended work. Many of their economic postulates are convergent with what has been many a time discussed by the OPZZ with the government," Miodowicz said.

"A battle is now fought for class trade unions, for their current state and future, for the confidence of working crews. In this battle one must face attacks from two sides: the opposition and bureaucratic administration, especially at the middle level of management," the OPZZ chairman said.

The chronology of recent strikes was presented by OPZZ Vice-Chairman Stanislaw Bar who said that inappropriate price-income decisions had led to the situation which aggravated market disequilibrium causing the deterioration of social moods and strikes of a political underpinning.

A dramatic speech was made Jerzy Marczak from the Szczecin port who said: "We tried to talk to people who started strike, but we were warned that in case of such, talks we would be removed. This is a peculiar kind of trade union pluralism."

"Eight years have passed since the 'right protest of the working class,'" said Stanislaw Wisniewski (of the Federation of Printing Industry employees). "We have a repetition today. It is no good when a worker calls another worker a squabbler. The current protest is against incompetent economic policy. One should start talks aimed at concluding a social accord concerning, among other things, the ways of implementing the reforms."

Opinions differed on the assessment of the nature of the current strikes. A prevailing opinion was that we are dealing with a typical situation when justified discontent caused by economic reasons is used in the political struggle

Comments on OPZZ Declaration

LD2008180688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpt] After the OPZZ Executive Committee meeting, Franciszek Ciemny, OPZZ press spokesman spoke with me. I asked him for a short comment on his declaration today.

[Begin Ciemny recording] The Executive Committee assembled [word indistinct] for an extraordinary meeting. Alfred Miodowicz, the chairman, emphasized this, summing up the meeting. In the declaration, one thing is, I think, expressed in a manner that does not give rise to any doubts. The trade union body expressed its disapproval of the government's actions to date in the sphere of implementing social and economic policy. We also turned to the Sejm speaker to call an extraordinary meeting of our parliament, since we think that it is the time—it is precisely this time that we have today, a time of disquiet in the fatherland. It is also the time to conduct a deep assessment of the implementation of economic policy, an assessment of the standard of living of working people with the considerable participation of the working movement, by the highest legislative authority. [passage omitted] [end recording]

National TU Meeting To Be Held

LD2008205588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, August 20 (TANJUG)—Leadership of the Polish trade unions today blamed the government's policy of social and economic reform for the new crisis and wave of strikes. The trade union Executive Committee held a special session at which it demanded an emergency session of the Polish Sejm (parliament).

At its special session yesterday, the government blamed all the country's difficulties on the opposition, i.e., the banned Solidarity trade union.

In a statement issued from today's session, the Executive Committee of the renewed Polish trade unions, headed by member of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central Committee Politbureau Alfred Miodowicz, stresses that the increasingly bureaucratic attitude and arrogance of the authorities can no longer be borne. The legally renewed trade unions agree with the legal provision that an enterprise can have only one trade union, but stress that the workers in each firm should be able to choose their own trade union.

First reports from the special session of the Polish trade union leadership make no mention of the radical, illegal opposition as having its fingers in the present wave of workers' protests, unlike charges made by the PUWP Central Committee Politbureau and the Polish Government at their sessions.

There are reports that a consultation of trade union leaders and representatives of the workers' collectives from all over Poland will be held shortly, to be followed by a plenary session of the national leadership of the renewed Polish trade unions, made up mainly of former members of the Solidarity trade union.

Trade Official on Strike Losses

LD2008183788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] We are extremely uneasy at the situation that has arisen as a result of the interruption of work by certain mines and the port in Szczecin, stated Wieslaw Szynczak, deputy minister for foreign economic cooperation, as this will rebound on the limitation of the level of exports. Reduced extraction will also simultaneously cause reduced supplies of coal for our foreign contractees, whereas stopping the port's work will make altogether impossible the export of coal and other bulk cargoes, for which recipients in many countries are waiting. Insofar as it will quickly be possible to measure the losses in zloties or dollars, it will not be possible to measure the moral losses that we are already suffering for the second time in recent years as a result of the decreased trust in Poland as a credible trading partner.

Papers Warn Against Consequences

LD2008161788 Warsaw PAP in English 1530 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—Commenting on the ongoing strikes in the Katowice coal basin and in Szczecin, the "ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" daily writes in part:

"These actions are illegal because they breach Polish law. Our law provides for strike as an ultimate form of protest. It clearly and precisely describes the cases in which a strike can be initiated. In the situation with which we are currently dealing these are obvious examples of wildcat strikes where emotions take the upper hand over sound reasoning and manifestations of anarchy are beginning to spread, taking on an increasingly thoughtless and thus dangerous form.

"This is a phenomenon which is the more dangerous as its unconscious stupidity could lead to unforseen developments and not only material losses."

Writing on the same subject, the "ZYCIE WARSZAWY" daily comments: "We presumably all get the impression that we are once again beginning to swim in the former, dangerous mainstream. We once again have strikes and an aggravation of conflicts.

"We have various important business to do in the world. We are also being watched by our closest neighbours and allies who are, as is known, determined to introduce deep changes and reforms too. It will be easier for us and other socialist countries to cover this road without drastic conflicts. These conflicts, whether-this is the intention of the strikers or not, strengthen the forces opposing transformations. And such forces are not lacking. We should rather show how rare an opportunity we have nowadays for the community to achieve fast progress."

In conclusion the daily appealed: "Let us, therefore, show enough sound reasoning to solve the country's problems in the least painful way and to capitalize on the chance which the favourable international constellation creates for us."

Nationwide Work Disruptions Continue 21 Aug

Strike Situation Updated

LD2108080688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] The illegal strikes in 10 hard coal mines in Silesia are continuing. The port and the voivodship municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin are also not working. The Szczecin port director today suspended operational activity. If by 1400 work is not resumed in the transport enterprise, the director of the enterprise will suspend its activity.

Miners Subjected to 'Moral Pressure'

LD2108104588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Illegal strikes at 10 hard coal mines in Silesia are being continued. The danger to the mines from the technical point of view is growing. There is still a big water threat. If there is a prolonged break in the operation of the pumps a mine can be flooded. The caving in of roofs cannot be excluded; this might cause an increase in the danger from methane in a situation when the ventilation systems are not working properly.

During the night small groups of miners and individual persons secretly left mining premises at which strikes are in progress. The most determined groups of strikers are continuing to exert psychological pressure on those who do not [as heard] wish to leave areas where there are strikes. At the Trzydziesciolecia mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj a group of 15 miners appealed to the self-styled strike authorities saying that the strike was pointless. They asked that they be given the chance to leave the premises of the mine. The strike organizers carted them out in wheelbarrows to outside the gates of the mine.

At the Pierwszego Maja mine more than 100 people have signed a statement saying they are willing to return to work. However, in conditions of strike terror this is impossible. A campaign of moral pressure is being waged against those miners who have not subordinated themselves to the self-styled strike committees. The same applies to the families of these miners.

Sunday in Silesia is passing off in an atmosphere of great seriousness brought about by concern for the safety of people and mining establishments.

Dangers at Silesian Coal Mine

LD2108115188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Editor Stanislaw Brygon is in the studio again with the latest PAP news from Silesia.

[Brygon] During the night in the Andaluzja mine a fire danger occured on one of the extraction walls. In the opinion of the mine management if immediate excavation is not undertaken on this wall there is a danger of fire spreading and of the wall collapsing. In order to overcome this danger it is necessary to very quickly start safety and excavation work by 350 miners. The mine management has held talks on this matter with the so-called strike committee. Strikers' representatives stated that they had no confidence in the director's assessment and did not permit a descent. The possibility of bringing rescue teams into the mines is being considered to save them.

Ladies and Gentlemen, at the beginning of the program it was announced that in the 1 May mine more than 100 people have signed a statement stating their willingness to return to work. It turns out that in the 1 May mine more than 1,000 people have signed stating their willingness to return to work.

Silesian Coal Mines Strikes Continue

LD2108221788 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug 21—A part of crews continued illegal strikes in 10 hard coal mines in Silesia today. In the Rybnik area mines employing 42,000 miners, 2,000-3,000 people are on strike, depending on the time of the day. Inconsiderate actions of the self-declared strike committees lead to the deterioration of the safety conditions, technical state of the equipment and bring about many-million losses.

It is possible to imagine what sort of consequences such situations can produce. The longwall slid in the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto] colliery due to the lack of people who should carry out protective work down in the mine, the main work safety expert, Tadeusz Korzynski and head for the mining work of the colliery Edward Mitko said.

The prolongation of strikes increases the scale of dangers. The mines which do not operate are prompt to all sorts of dangers in collieries such as fires, the pressure of rock mass, methane and flooding of excavation beds.

More and more people secretly before the members of self-declared strike committees naming themselves the representatives of the all, leave the premises of the mines where the excavation of coal had been stopped. Other want to do it openly.

A group of 15 miners in the "30-Lecia PRL" [30 Years of the Polish People's Republic] mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj approached the "leaders" of such a committee saying that the strike is senseless and asked to be let leave the colliery. The organizers of the strike in turn taught them a lesson of "real" democracy and carried them outside the pit in the wheel-barrow.

In the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine, the leaders of the strike try to make the attitudes of part of the crew more radical through creating an atmosphere of fear. The most determined groups of strikers exert psychological pressure on those who want to leave the premises of the mine, going so far as to terror.

Collecting signatures of people who want to resume work continues. Over 1,000 people signed such a list in the "1 Maja" [First of May] colliery, however, they cannot go back to work due to the strike terror in the mine.

Situation at Morcinek Mine Described

LD2108171788 Warsaw PAP in English
1630 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 21—The Morcinek colliery at Kaczyce, near here, is the youngest mine of Polish hard coal mining industry as it was opened nearly 20 months ago.

Located right by the border with Czechoslovakia on the Olza River, the colliery is only starting to reach its full operational production capacity. Its daily yield amounts to 2,450 tonnes of coal. Most of the crew is made up of young people.

As a result of conditions laid by miners on strike which were unacceptable for the mine's director, talks on objectives of the strike have not been held since its very beginning. Joint agreements dealt soley with issues related to safety of the crew and the mine whose operation was suspended in the forenoon of August 17th.

Our initial agreement was that 50 people of various services would descend into the pit during each shift, including a dozen-or-so technical supervision workers, said Morcinek mine chief engineer Andrzej Kiolek.

A crisis broke out on the morning of August 19th. At first, miners on strike threatened that no one would go down. But after some agreement was reached, a group of 11 strikers descended into the pit to check the machinery of the main water drainage system and ensure a constant watch by the explosives store.

The group did not include a single technical supervision expert. Anyone who has been down there at least once knows that a small group of 11 can in no way properly assess the situation in the headings and ensure protection of the mine, Ciolek observed.

We were upset that the safety control group had been that small, mining engineer and union president at the Orcinek mine Jerzy Kalinowski ventured his opinion. Three sets of pumps can guarantee continuous operation of the main drainage system. Meanwhile, two sets were defective and main drainage operated with one pump set only.

Fourteen years I have been working in the pit and I am shocked with the ignorance and the attitude of those young people toward mine safety, said Kalinowski. The group on strike has many young and inexperienced people. They put the mine in danger of flooding, fire, methane explosion and other material damage. They have no emotional relations with their profession, with mining. They go on strike as if they were going to a party, as if they had not a worry in the world.

At noon, the chief engineer issued another statement in which he expressed concern over escalation of actions bordering on violence, such as bodily forcing people to stay, or even beating people who had tried to leave the mine's premises, actual elimination of mining and ventilation control in wall and face headings, or attempts to leave the hoist machinery unwatched.

After long hours of tension, finally, strikes consent to a descent of 50 workers, half of which would be selected by themselves and the other by the mine management. Around 15:30 the group took the hoist to the headings and coal faces.

Some 250 people out of the 3,500-strong crew are on strike. Wednesday morning the first cage with miners rode into the pit all right, but all subsequent ones were prevented from descending by "strike activists" who took over the shaft top. Nevertheless, some of the crew found their way down and even started their work. News were coming in that leaders of the illegal strike had been elected and were sending their delegation to the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery the same night.

Some of those on strike at first encouraged and then aggressively forced co-workers to join the strike. The number of strikers reached an initial 500 but it dwindled gradually. Some miners simply slipped out. Those who did not manage to do so received thrashing from their own colleagues.

A few strikers attempted to take over the mine's railway depot and coerce those employed there to join the strike.

Strike organizers today have ordered protective operations in the pit be stopped and confined to mere observation. Safety control experts say it poses unpredictable danger, but there is no response to the voice of reason...

'Alternative' Transport Arranged

LD2208154888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Transport difficulties for Szczecin inhabitants are continuing. Buses from three depots and trams from two did not run in Niemierzyn and Golecino. Buses are not functioning; 5 out of 12 tram routes are in service.

Andrzej Anczykowski, the main director of the vovoidship municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin, informs us that as of 1700 alternative transport was put into operation on 23 bus routes and 2 tram routes. As of 1400 today, the director of the enterprise suspended the activity of departments in which the illegal strike is continuing.

Outside Drivers Provided

LD2108183488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] According to information received from Andrzej Anczykowski, main director of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise in Szczecin, as of 1700 today alternative transport was set in motion on 23 bus routes and 2 tram lines. In view of the illegal sit-in strike in the depots, the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise in Szczecin has obtained buses from outside. These buses will be driven by drivers from outside Szczecin.

In view of the slack passenger traffic today, trial runs were made in order to prepare drivers for efficient functioning early tomorrow.

Charges Brought Against Strikers

LD2108184788 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 21 Aug 88

["Charges Brought Down on Szczecin Strikers"—PAP headline]

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 21—Szczecin's district public prosecutor announced today a communique on the illegal strike at the port here which declared the strike illegal in the light of the October 8th, 1982, law on trade unions. It announces that legal prosecution will be instituted in recognition of threats posed to men by strike action, which are manifest in acts of violence, and to the property in charge of the port authority.

Port Director Appeals to Strikers

LD2108220388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] The director of the main board of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port directed another appeal today to all strikers to show reason and a sense of responsibility for the fate of the enterprise. Daily losses resulting from the strike in Szczecin port reach 100 million zlotys. Uncommensurable losses are also increasing. The prestige and high position of Polish port workers is falling. The port, faced with the decision of creating within it a duty-free zone, is losing its credibility with foreign contractees.

Szczecin Strike Reviewed

LD2108224888 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 21—"I call on all strikers to show reason and a sense of responsibility for the fate of your enterprise," is how the managing director of the port of Szczecin-Swinoujscie started his appeal today to participants in the illegal strike on the port of Szczecin.

In view of the decision to set up a free zone in the port of Szczecin, it loses its credibilty in the eyes of foreign partners. The port's foreign customers start sending goods via Hamburg and Rostock. At the same time, ships with iron ore for the Austrian Voest Alpine concern, with which the Polish steamship company and the port have long contacts, await the possibility of unloading their cargo.

To secure the port's fixed assets, the port authority intended to send appropriate maintenance workers with special passes to the port but illegal strikers barred the workers from entering.

Foreign and Polish shipowners sustain losses and tonight as many as 10 roadsters waited for the possibility of entering the port and in Szczecin 5 ships waited for dockers to resume their work. The situation is similar as for ships of the Polish Ocean Lines whose time-table of journey on regular lines will be disrupted, the Szczecin shipowner, the Polish Steamship Company, the main customer of the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie said.

Meanwhile, cargo is handled in Swinoujscie.

Walesa Ready To Meet Leadership

LD2108141288 Hamburg DPA in German 1338 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—In Poland today negotiations are emerging as a possible solution to the serious social conflict. The interfactory coordinating strike committee in the "July Manifesto" mine in Jastrzebie called for the

inclusion of the Catholic Church. In Gdansk, the chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, Lech Walesa, said he was prepared to talk with the leadership. In front of some 5,000 people after a church service in the St Brygida Church, he made the call for a strike in the Lenin Shipyard dependent upon television mentioning this readiness to talk.

It is alleged that the political leadership has conveyed to him via private channels that a dialogue should take place. Walesa affirmed that he felt responsible for the country and Solidarity. The Poles do not want to strike, but work. But they also want pluralism. Again and again he was interrupted by shouts of "A strike tomorrow!" and "There is no freedom without Solidarity!" Initially he was for waiting another week before calling a strike. [passage omitted]

The official trade unions have condemned the economic and social policies of the government and demanded a special sitting of the parliament. In an Executive Committee announcement the trade union leadership expresses understanding for the workers' dissatisfaction with the lowered standard of living. It did not expressly condemn the strikers but merely regretted that the dissatisfaction is being used by "political opponents." [passage omitted]

Officials in Katowice estimate the loss of production up to Saturday at 212,500 tonnes. In most of the mines on strike high quality coking coal is mined. Already the export of 63,200 tonnes has been delayed. The media are spreading alarming reports that should the strike continue, many tunnels in the mines under strike are in danger of collapsing due to insufficient servicing. There is also a danger of flooding, fire, and the buildup of gas.

Solidarity Organization of Strikes

LD2108184988 Warsaw PAP in English
1807 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 21—Authors of the illegal strikes in the Katowice Voivodship are ceasing to be anonymous. Hints that the strikes might have been initiated by activists of the former "Solidarnosc" are now being confirmed.

Jan Gorny did not beat around the bush and revealed this fact by introducing himself at the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery as "co-ordinator" and one of organizers of the wave of illegal strikes in Polish mining industry.

Gorny has nothing to do with mining, though. He represents an illegal political structure called the Slasko-Dabrowski Regional "Solidarnosc" Executive Chapter.

Also, there is no connection whatsoever between miners and Danuta Skorenko, who is also staying at the Manifest Lipcowy and who just like Gorny has been convicted on many occasions for illegal political activities and released under subequent amnesties.

Two other activists of the former 'Solidarnosc," Kazimierz Switon and Michael Luty, actually lead the strike at the Andaluzja mine, although they have nothing in common with the mine, nor with mining in general.

Switon did not conceal political goals of the illegal strike as he told strikers via the mine's public address system: "Demands are a secondary issue now, and stopping coal excavation is a measure of our success." Switon was one of co-organizers of the coal excavation stoppage in the years 1980-1981 and he is pursuing the same scenario now.

Bazyli Tyszkiewicz, who claims to be a representative of the Gdansk ("Solidarnosc," ed.) region, is also active at the Andaluzja colliery.

Jan Gorny said that more collieries were selected to go on strike, while a chief strike headquarters was located at the vicarage of Jastrzebie-Zdroj's Holy Virgin Mary Church. The host at the vicarage himself told miners about that as he visited them when he said that a team of advisers was operating at the Jastrzebie vicarage and phones rang, reports arrived and instructions were issued all the time.

A self-appointed strike committee at the Andaluzja colliery announced Saturday that they were taking over responsibility for the crew's health and safety, but did not allow later first-shift miners who had arrived to secure the mine's operation to enter the premises.

Other reports from that colliery say that miners leaving the strike-occupied premises for meals are not coming back to go on striking, in spite of various forms of pressure exerted upon them, such as forcing them to leave their identification in deposit.

Gdansk Strike Called for 22 Aug

LD2108223988 Hamburg DPA in German
2213 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—According to opposition circles in Warsaw, the strike committee in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on Sunday evening decided to call a strike in the shipyard for Monday.

The chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity and workers' leader Wech Walesa does not belong to this committee, which was founded at the last strike at the beginning of May. It has been reported by those close to him that alleged offers by the leadership for talks had not taken concrete form. Walesa did not wish to make any comment. He wanted to make his approach dependent upon developments. [passage omitted]

Wroclaw Solidarity Leader Arrested

LD2108224488 Hamburg DPA in German
2222 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The leader of the banned trade union Solidarity in Wroclaw, Frasyniuk, was again arrested on Sunday. It is reported by dissident circles in Wroclaw that he was only released on Saturday following 48 hours police detention. As on the first occasion, reasons for the further arrest were not given.

Szczecin Workers Erect Barricades

AU2208065788 Paris AFP in English
0318 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 22 (AFP)—Some 2,000 striking dockworkers in the port of Szczecin began late Sunday erecting barricades around the shipyard to prevent security forces from entering the premises, an informed source at Szczecin said.

The putting up of the barricades at entrances to the shipyard came several hours after Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, announced that workers at the Gdansk shipyard would join the nationwide strikes on Monday and was seen as an indication of the growing tension between government security forces and the striking workers.

In addition, the workers at Szczecin called for the resignation of the shipyard's director. [passage omitted]

Government Responds to OPZZ Statement

LD2108210988 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 21 Aug 88

["Government Response to OPZZ Statement"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—The Government Press Office gave PAP information which contained a preliminary comment on the August 20th statement addressed to the Sejm (parliament) by the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Executive Committee. Here are extensive excerpts of the information.

The government always considers evaluations of the labour movement with attention and concern. We understand that the statement of the OPZZ Executive Committee was born in a specific situation prompting categorical and one-sided judgements. However, one cannot agree with many elements included in the statement.

Special powers were given to the government by the Sejm in order to intensify reforms and to counteract market shortages and inflation growth. The government started to make use of the powers by arresting price growth and economically unjustified pay growth, and by taking steps to increase market supply.

We emphasize with all responsibility that the policy pursued by the government is open in nature. Its objectives, assumptions and methods of implementation were broadly consulted with entire society and approved of by the Sejm.

We made no secret of the fact that reforming the economy would entail social cost. In some cases, real cost turned out in practice to be greater than we had predicted.

The government shares the (OPZZ's ed.) opinion that "a growth in hardships in the life of working people has occurred," but can in no way agree with the statement's thesis that a general and palpable decline in real income has ensued.

In keeping with earlier decisions, the government intends to carry out, jointly with trade unions and other organizations, a comprehensive review of the price-income policy.

It is deplorable that the meeting of representatives of government and labour movement which had been agreed upon the day before the Executive Committee meeting was called off on the initiative of unionists.

We believe that a business-like discussion with trade unions on the rate and methods of implementing the economic reform would also be indispensable.

Accepting to a considerable extent criticism from trade unions, the government expresses a conviction that the OPZZ will be more willing to hold more business-like talks on particular measures suiting the interests of both working people and economic reforms.

The government expresses also openness to any specific proposals and concepts as to problem solving.

Strike Organizers' Motives Questioned

LD2108185888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] One should count on Poland entering a second week of strikes on Monday. Now already and in the immediate future we will be counting the losses incurred: economic, political, and moral. We all feel them, regardless of our political beliefs and the world outlook we profess, regardless of whether somebody loves the authorities or hates them. What particularly fills one with fear and disquiet is the fact that the strikes are taking place in very sensitive areas of our economy. Mining is the source of power, heat, and light. The port is a link with the world; it is the exports, on which so much depends, and imports, regular and constant. It is not just this, however. Let us go back to the not too distant past. Poland, which from the year 1981 was shaken by demonstrations and strikes—in the ports as well, which is worth recalling today—has ceased to count as a reliable partner. The result: We have lost 40 percent

of the income from transit cargo, 40 percent of real ready money. Our neighbors have chosen roundabout, but more certain routes; we will never make up this loss.

The attitude of society to the existing strikes is varied. There is a widespread view that in the country's current economic situation a strike, even if it has justified causes, worsens rather than improves the situation. We share this view. There is also another view, however, which frequently is voiced by the same citizens who are against strikes. It boils down to the following argument: The authorities,, and more precisely the government, must be backed up against a wall, for only then will it stop being indolent and start reacting properly to working people's troubles. We do not question the vital need to back the authorities against the wall. We recall that at the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee there was a very critical assessment of the weaknesses and also the mistakes that had come about in the course of implementing the prices and wages policy. Specific proposals and demands were formulated. The trade unionists, headed by Alfred Modowicz, are backing them against the wall, and hard at that. One has to ask the question, however: Is backing against a wall with the help of strikes sensible and beneficial for the whole nation and the country today? In our opinion, it is not.

We are losing time. Fewer and fewer valuable banknotes are coming in. We are becoming nervous and uncertain of the future. We are losing in the eyes of the world. Viewers write to us and remind us about the rising prices and worsening material conditions of many working people, particularly old-age and disability pensioners, about bureaucracy and injustice, and so forth. They state that these facts create a foundation helpful to the strike slogans. They are undoubtedly right, but our journalistic profession requires that we put various questions to ourselves and to the viewers. One of them is: Are the strike organizers concerned only or maybe even above all with matters that hurt the working people? Or maybe they have other aims in mind? This is known to be so, but that is a subject for another commentary.

Message From Bishop of Katowice

LD2108162088 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Today, the pastoral message of its ordinary, Bishop Damian Zimon, is being read in churches of Katowice Diocese. The text follows: We are following with anxiety the events in our mines from last week. The continuing strikes have various causes, which have mounted up over the years. This is neither the time nor the place for a detailed examination of them. It must be stated, however, that the fundamental reason for the current social and economic situation lies in the infringement of human rights and the dignity of the working man. The whole sphere of work cannot be separated from moral order, and particularly from the principles of justice and social love. Pope John Paul II spoke on this subject in Katowice on 20 June 1983. He said:

Justice and social love signifies that plenitude of moral order that is connected with the whole social system, and particluarly with the system of human work. Work possesses its own fundamental value because it is carried out by man. In carrying out any work whatsoever, man stamps onto it his own character, the image and likeness of God himself. Work is the duty of mankind, before God and the people, and his own family, as well as before the nation (?and) society to which he belongs. The rights of the working man also are relevant to this duty, the right to a just wage, "just" meaning that which is enough for the maintenance of his family. In this, there is also the right to rest. The issue of trade unions is also linked to the sphere of working people's rights.

These words were said by the Holy Father, John Paul II, before the picture of Our Lady of Piekary, the mother of justice and social love. In the current situation, in the continuing Marian Year, we turn to God through Mary. That is why the most effective prayers for social peace in the fatherland and also for the just solution of work problems will be the rosary. I encourage all diocesans to rosary prayer, said either individually or collectively, and particularly in families. The church sees Mary, maternally present and participating in numerous and complex matters that fill the lives of individuals, families, and the nation today. It sees her as the helper of the Christian people in the unceasing battle between good and evil.

In the pastoral message of Bishop Zimon, we read: I call on all parishes in Katowice Diocese today, within the framework of the prayers of the faithful, the following invocation: Let us pray for the workers and rulers of our country, so that social conflicts may be resolved in the spirit of respect for human rights and dignity. I also suggest that on Sunday, 21 August 1988, after every Holy mass, supplications should be sung, adding the following invocation: That You may deign to grant our fatherland peace, order, and social justice.

In fulfilling the Christian duty to prayer, everything humanly possible should be done so that the continuing social conflict may be resolved in a spirit of dialogue, with respect for workers' and human rights, and for dignity. That is why I am appealing to all those who have any influence whatsoever on the current course of events so that they may wish to undertake the effort of negotiating in a spirit of responsibility for the fate of Poles, so that they might restore justice in our social relations on the road of talks.

For my part, I assure you, dear diocesans, that I will do everything within my capabilities to aid the solution of the current conflict. At any rate, I already have undertaken such steps. I also am putting forward a clear postulate that hard working people should be treated with great respect. The whole truth must be looked in the eye, so as not to commit further mistakes and errors. There also must be objective information about the strikes and their causes. I trust that the striking miners,

as as well as the mining supervisory body, will give proof of concern for our common economic good, and that they will appropriately secure the mines and protect them from damage.

Commending to God's protection all diocesans, and particularly the striking miners, through the intercession of the Mother of justice and social love, I convey the bishop's blessing: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

[Signed] Damian Zimon, Bishop of Katowice.

Let us add that, as reported by the press agencies, 14 mines in the Silesian region are affected by the strike.

Thousands Join Continued Workers' Strike 22 Aug

'Majority' of Lenin Shipyards' Workers Strike
AU2208072088 Paris AFP in English
0717 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Aug 22 (AFP)—The majority of the 10,000 workers at the huge Lenin Shipyards in the northern port of Gdansk went on strike from early Monday, an AFP correspondent on the spot reported.

The strike is being led by a committee of ten headed by Alojzy Szablewski.

The strikers are calling for a choice of trade unions and official recognition of the banned trade union Solidarity.

Nobel Peace Prize winner and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, who is on holiday in Gdansk, said he would join the strikers "when the time comes".

Strikes Continue in Katowice, Szczecin
LD2208080288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Illegal strikes continue in ten collieries in the Katowice Voivodship and in the port of Szczecin. Material losses are growing.

Police Block Access to Gdansk Shipyard
LD2208091988 Hamburg DPA in German
0838 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Today, a few hours after the start of a strike in the Lenin Shipyard, police blocked the access to the shipyard in Gdansk. The situation continues unchanged in the Upper Silesian mining district this morning. It was learned from strikers that there are no signs of a start to negotiations. The strike committee demands that experts be admitted to possible talks. However, so far this has been strictly rejected by management.

A lawyer, Wladyslaw Sila Nowicki, visited Jastrzebie on Sunday. He is a member of the Consultative Council of Wojciech Jaruzelski, Council of State chairman and party leader. He failed to gain admission to the strikers in the "July Manifest" mine.

Strikes Spread to Stalowa Wola, Poznan
LD2208102988 Hamburg DPA in German
1006 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, (DPA)—The new strike wave in Poland began to affect the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on Monday. Police cordoned off the access routes to the shipyard this morning after workers had been allowed to enter the enterprise unhindered in the early hours of this morning. Opposition circles in Warsaw reported that workers also downed tools in other cities, including the Stalowa Wola Steelworks and the Cegielski works in Poznan. Furthermore, numerous leaders of enterprise committees of the banned Solidarity trade union were arrested during the night.

The strike in the Gdansk shipyard began at 0700. It is not yet clear how many workers are taking part. As the chairman of the strike committee Alojzy Szablowski said, they have but one demand: The readmission of the banned Solidarity trade union. Banners were hoisted at the gates of the shipyard and the inscriptions fixed: "Sit in" and "Solidarity." The workers also fixed at the gate a caricature of Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban. According to Solidarity circles, the North Shipyard in Gdansk has also joined the strike. [passage omitted]

Special Powers Implementation Examined
LD2108224188 Warsaw PAP in English
2137 GMT 21 Aug 88

["Report on Government Implementation of Special Powers—(abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug, 21—In the three months between May 11, 1988, when the Sejm (parliament) granted special powers and prerogatives to the government, and August 11, 1988, the Council of Ministers, while making use of the powers, adopted 6 decrees and 2 resolutions of the Council of Ministers, while the prime minister issued 9 regulations.

Recognizing the task of protecting domestic market as particularly important in the current situation, a solution was adopted in the first of the said legal acts consisting in rendering attainment of exports tax relief—conditional on maintaining the volume of domestic market supplies at the 1987 level.

Another paramount solution in the area of supply-oriented measures was the stabilizing tax. This move is meant to "re-start in circulation" production factors, such as fixed assets, excessive material stocks, machines and transport means, redundant commodities, etc.

The expected result of this regulation should consist in improvement of the situation on the domestic market, which is of considerable importance since results of 1988's first three months implied that fulfillment of this year's market supply growth of 2.7 per cent as envisaged in the central annual plan might be seriously threatened.

Projected growth ranged between 1 and 1.5 per cent. Presently, after estimates defining effects of applying the said regulations were taken into account, it is projected that annual market supply of goods may increse by 3 to 3.5 per cent (market supply growth in 1988's first six months is estimated at 2.5 to 3.0 per cent).

The decision resulting from the Council of Ministers decree which exempted construction and assembly enterprises from the over-normative remuneration tax in the latter part of 1988 is to stimulate an effectiveness growth in housing construction.

A condition of obtaining such an exemption is the attainment of a 10-per-cent growth in usable floor area and basic social and utility facilities as compared with 1987 results.

All analyses and predictions as to 1988 price level imply that figures provided for in the plan were greatly exceeded. It is estimated that retail price growth will amount to some 57 per cent, or to 47 per cent if effects of liquor and tobacco price rises were to be disregarded.

Pay growth misses the planned target level by even a wider margin since it is estimated to reach 57 to 60 per cent.

A solution which serves to arrest excessive and unjustified price hikes is the prolongation, from three months to six months, of the period for which the treasury can postpone price rises introduced by enterprises. An order to curb the volume of investment projects, a ban was imposed on commencing any new spatial investment projects. The ban concerns universally all units of both socialized and non-socialized economy and encompasses facilities classified as "buildings."

Special emphasis was placed on non-commencing the construction of administrative buildings. The ban imposed currently is universal and there are no exceptions to it.

For public reasons, housing construction, environment protection facilities, health and social welfare buildings as well as educational, cultural and art facilities were excluded from the ban's range of operation.

Considering the fact that results of 1988's first three months may have been marked by particular randomness and that measures toward improvement of economic relations were taken in numerous economic units, the Council of Ministers resolved that a similar operation would be carried out on the basis of results of 1988's first six months.

'Orange Alternative' Marks 1968 Intervention

LD2008141788 Hamburg DPA in German 1141 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—On the anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia a "happening" took place at the Sniezka in the Giant Mountains on Friday, organized by the "Orange Alternative," the independent youth group. Opposition circles in Warsaw reported on Saturday that despite strict controls by border officials about a dozen Czech youngsters crossed the nearby border.

The youngsters, who because of their unconventional, ironic "happenings" have made a name for themselves in Poland, were attacked during their event in front of the shelter on the mountain by border police and security officials. About 80 people were temporarily detained. They were released in the evening. The "happening" was held under the motto of "Happy Salvation Army." [passage omitted]

Elena Ceausescu Speech Marks National Day

AU2008185188 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1440 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Speech by Elena Ceausescu, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and first deputy prime minister of the Council of Ministers, on 20 August in Bucharest, at a festive meeting devoted to the 44th anniversary of the 23 August 1944 "antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation"—live]

[Text] Dear comrades: This year, on 23 August, we celebrate the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, which has paved the way for fulfilling the Romanian people's ideals and strivings for justice and freedom and building the socialist society in our country. [cheers, chants]

On our great national holiday, I extend—on behalf of the party-state leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the SR of Romania—warmest congratulations and wishes to the participants in this festive meeting and to the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, and the whole nation, who, through their self-denying and devoted work, are fashioning Romania's new socialist and communist destiny. [cheers, chants]

The Romanian people are celebrating 23 August fully united around the party and its secretary general, in an atmosphere of strong patriotic and revolutionary upsurge generated by the ideas and guidelines of great theoretical and practical significance included in the April theses on improving the organizational, political, and ideological activity and on organizing and modernizing the entire socioeconomic life. [cheers, chants]

Throughout the country, we are carrying out intensive work to fulfill the targets of this year's plan and the entire 5-year plan, with a view to unflinchingly implementing the historic decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP. These decisions will further increase the socioeconomic strength of our fatherland, will ensure Romania's transition to a new and higher level of socioeconomic development, and will raise the whole nation's material and intellectual well-being. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, the victory of the 23 August 1944 revolution is the result of the revolutionary action of the workers class and other patriotic and democratic forces in the country, which were organized and led by the RCP. It is also the result of the unity of all these forces in a strong front of struggle to overthrow the military-fascist dictatorship and defend the national independence and sovereignty and the supreme interests of the entire nation. In this struggle, the party has united and broadly mobilized all patriotic and antifascist forces of the country, including the Army, thus achieving the broadest political alliance in the Romanian people's history, which has ensured the victory of the revolution for social and national liberation and paved the way for building the most just and advanced social system, the socialist and communist system in our fatherland.

The great results scored by the Romanian people in the nearly four and a half decades which have elapsed since 23 August 1944 strongly emphasize the major significance of this historic act for the destiny of the Romanian people, who, under the leadership of the RCP, are further developing modern Romania, an independent, sovereign, free, and dignified country among the peoples and nations of the world. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, after the 23 August 1944 victory, Romania turned arms against Hitlerite Germany and sided with the antifascist forces. Using its entire economic and military potential, Romania made an effective contribution to crushing the fascist war machine. At the call of the RCP, the Romanian Army became involved, with all its might, in the great battles to chase away the Hitlerite occupiers and proved great heroism in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the fatherland. After the liberation of the entire national territory, the Romanian soldiers, alongside the Soviet Army, continued military operations across the fatherland's borders and actively participated, with heavy casualties, in liberating Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and part of Austria, for the final defeat of fascist Germany and the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe.

Today, on the anniversary of the great 23 August victory, our nation is paying the highest possible homage to the Communist and antifascist heroes and to the thousands of fighters—brave Romanian soldiers and officers—who, as a brilliant illustration of the best traditions of struggle of the Romanian people, gave their lives to defeat fascism, liberate the forefathers' fatherland, attain their great ideals of social and national liberation, ensure Romania's progress and prosperity, and promote the cause of freedom and independence for all nations. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we honor the memory of the Soviet Army soldiers, who bore the brunt of the war and made the greatest sacrifice in the struggle to crush Hitlerism. We also honor the memory of the soldiers of the other armies of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the memory of partisans and fighters of the resistance movement, and the memory of all those who fought to save mankind from the fascist danger. [cheers, chants]

The Romanian people welcome the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with the firm determination to do their best, along with the other countries and peoples in the world, to completely eliminate wars from mankind's life and promote a new policy of peace and cooperation, which can ensure the right of all nations to free and sovereign development. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, in the period since the historic victory of 23 August 1944, the Romanian people, under the clearsighted leadership of the RCP, have wrought great and profound revolutionary changes in our fatherland. In this period, we eliminated for good the bourgeois-landlord system, which was based on exploitation and oppression, and proceeded to building the socialist society, which is the society of human dignity and of free work and life based on the whole nation's ownership of the means of production, on the socialist principles of distribution, and on the ethics and equity of the new system.

From a poorly developed country with a predominantly agricultural economy, Romania has turned into an industrial-agrarian state, with a strong modern industry and a socialist agriculture in full progress, which relies on the implementation of the latest achievements of science and technology and enjoys a flourishing economic and cultural life. We strongly developed and asserted science, education, and culture, which are key elements of the country's comprehensive progress and the construction of socialism and communism.

In step with the overall development of the country, we have continuously raised the material and intellectual living standards and generally increased the level of well-being and civilization of all our people. The great achievements scored in the more than four decades since then strongly prove the correctness and the realism of the policy of our party, which, proceeding from the revolutionary concept of scientific socialism and from the realities of the Romanian society, has taken firm and steady steps to creatively apply generally valid laws to concrete conditions prevailing in our fatherland. Thus, our party has ensured the strong development of the forces of production and the continuous growth of the socioeconomic potential of the entire country.

Along the road of great achievements opened up by the August 1944 revolution for social and national liberation, the Ninth RCP Congress is the most important moment in the evolution of our socialist fatherland and in the construction of the new system. [cheers, chants]

The Ninth RCP Congress has inaugurated a period of glorious achievements. This period is characterized by a greatly innovative spirit, which has strongly stimulated our revolutionary thinking and activity, thus broadly releasing the whole nation's abilities and energy and better utilizing the material and human means available to our socialist society. [cheers, chants]

During these years, we adopted historic decisions on promoting the harmonious and high-level development of industry, agriculture, and all national economic sectors at a fast pace and ensuring the balanced distribution of the forces of production throughout the country. This has led to the socioeconomic development of all counties and regions, to the general increase in the whole nation's level of well-being and civilization, and to the attainment of full equality of rights among all of Romania's citizens. [cheers, chants]

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that all these great achievements were obtained by consistently applying the steadfast policy adopted by the Ninth RCP Congress at the initiative of the party secretary general, namely to allocate about a third of the national income to development. Thanks to this policy, the country's industrial production has increased by more than 120 times compared with 1945; the agricultural production, by more than 4 times; and the national income, by almost 33 times. The national income currently amounts to about 5,000 billion lei and the fixed assets have increased from only 80 billion lei in the year of the nationalization to 3.2 trillion lei now; more than 90 percent of these fixed assets were achieved in the period since the Ninth RCP Congress. [cheers, chants]

Outstanding achievements were obtained in the sphere of investments, construction, transportation, and other economic sectors. Strong development was registered in this period by scientific research, education, and culture, which have made and continue to make a decisive contribution to resolving the complex problems of technological progress, introducing the latest scientific-technical achievements into production, and raising appropriate cadres with a sound professional training, who are educated in the spirit of our high revolutionary requirements and of full responsibility toward the fatherland, party, and people. We generally introduced the 10-year educational system and created conditions to practically generalize the 12-year education by 1990.

In the first 2 and ½ years of the current 5-year plan, new results were scored in the development of industry, agriculture, and other national economic branches, while the national income and the people's socialist wealth continued to increase. On this basis, the party and our socialist state took new steps to further raise the material and intellectual living standard of the whole nation. The new measures to increase pay and pensions, adopted at the initiative of the party secretary general—measures which took effect as of August 1988 and which will apply to 9 million citizens—ensure a substantial increase in the incomes of the working people, particularly of those with lower incomes. [cheers, chants]

The construction of dwellings and other social, cultural, health, and educational establishments has strongly developed in all counties. We intensified the organization and modernization of towns and communes, which has led to ever better housing, living, and working conditions for all the country's inhabitants. All this has radically changed the face of all towns and communes in our fatherland.

Esteemed comrades, throughout this period we have carried out a broad activity to further improve the organization and management of society and greatly develop the revolutionary workers socialist democracy. Our party has initiated far-reaching measures to increase the role of the socialist state in the entire construction of the new society and to further improve the scientific organization and management of all sectors of the socioeconomic life. At the initiative and under the leadership of the party secretary general, we have created a broad and unique democratic framework. In the almost 20 years of their existence, the workers councils, the working people's general meetings, the national councils for various fields of activity, and the periodic congresses and national conferences have fully proved their justness and superiority as democratic management forces, thus ensuring the efficient and direct participation of all citizens in discussing and establishing measures on the country's progress and in implementing the party-state domestic and foreign policy. [cheers, chants]

All these wonderful achievements prove the strength and capability of our Communist Party, which unswervingly serves the basic interests of the whole nation, thus honorably fulfilling its historic mission to lead the Romanian people along the road of socialism, well-being, and the fatherland's freedom and independence. [cheers, chants]

All we have achieved in the construction of socialism is the result of the work of our heroic workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all our people. Under the leadership of the party, our free nation, which is master of its destiny, is building a new, dignified, and civilized life. Therefore, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, and of the party-state leadership, I would like to extend to the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, to all builders of socialism, and to our diligent and talented people warmest congratulations for all the great achievements obtained in the comprehensive development of our socialist society. I would also like to extend to them wishes for new and ever greater achievements in the entire activity devoted to the fatherland's development and the whole nation's well-being and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, all our people are fully engaged in implementing the strategic targets of Romania's transition to the stage of an intermediately-developed country during the current 5-year plan; in fulfilling the program for the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society by the year 2000; in broadly asserting the communist principles of work and life; in implementing all domestic targets envisaged by the 5-year plan, which plays a decisive role for the country's future development and for Romania's progress toward socialism and communism; and in resolutely applying the guidelines and tasks laid down by the 13th Congress and the National Party Conference for raising the socioeconomic activity to a higher level of quality and exactingness. To this end, in the spirit of the April theses, we should take firm steps in industry, agriculture, and all sectors of activity to fulfill the program on perfecting management and on organizing and modernizing productive processes and to implement the new scientific-technological and the new agrarian revolutions.

Particular attention should be paid to implementing the organization and modernization programs, on the basis of the latest achievements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution. This should lead to generally improving the production range, strongly increasing labor productivity, reducing production costs, raising the technical and qualitative level of products, and substantially increasing economic efficiency in all spheres of activity. We should intensify scientific research in order to develop new technologies and speedily introduce them into the production flow. At the same time, we should fulfill the production earmarked for export under the best conditions of quality and efficiency and we must increase the share of high-quality Romanian products on the international market.

In our current new stage, we should further intensify both the party organizational work and the ideological activity of developing the revolutionary awareness of party members and raising the general level of education and culture of all citizens. This will lead to increasing the responsibility of each working man, to strengthening order and discipline, and to enhancing our firm determination to unflinchingly implement the plans for the overall development of the socialist fatherland. We should do everything possible to further improve the activity of all bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, so as to further increase their role in implementing the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people. We should take steps to continuously enhance the revolutionary spirit, to improve and perfect the training and promotion of cadres, and to raise the professional, technical, and political training of the working people in all spheres of activity.

We must always see to it that we unflinchingly implement all party decisions and that we observe and apply the country's laws—a prerequisite for the smooth development of the socialist construction. Let us do all we can to ensure the continuous strengthening of the party's ties with the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and with all the working people and all our nation, the supreme guarantee for fulfilling the leading political role of the party and for successfully building socialism and communism in Romania. [applause]

As the party secretary general has emphasized, we have a strong material, technological, scientific, and cultural basis; and above all, we have a strong party that has demonstrated its capability for leading our whole nation toward the highest peaks of civilization and progress. We

have a workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and a wonderful people, who in complete unity, confidently follow the party and see in the party the guarantee of their free future and of Romania's independence and sovereignty.

On the occasion of our great national holiday, let us strongly reaffirm the unanimous commitment of our whole nation to spare no efforts to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the National Party Conference and to unflinchingly fulfill all the objectives and tasks put forward by the party for ensuring the socioeconomic development of the country, for raising the civilization and living standard of the people, and for ensuring the continuous progress of our socialist homeland. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, the magnificent programs for the development of our homeland can be achieved only under conditions of peace and in a climate of understanding, security, and broad international cooperation. Proceeding from this truth, in the spirit of the initiatives of the president of our country, Romania carries out a wide international activity and actively participates in and makes a significant contribution to finding constructive solutions to the international problems and to promoting a policy of peace and cooperation.

Romania devotes particular attention to and steadily militates for developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, developing countries, developed capitalist countries, and with all the countries of the world regardless of social system. We firmly base all our international relations on the principles of complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and respect for the right of each nation to independently build its destiny and to freely choose its path of socioeconomic development, in accordance with its wishes and aspirations. We firmly work for disarmament and the elimination of the danger of a destructive nuclear war. We believe that although the first steps toward disarmament have been taken, the international situation continues to be very serious and complex. Strong contradictions continue to persist and develop in the world, as a result of the continuation of the arms race, of the activity of perfecting and manufacturing new nuclear weapons, and of the continuation of conflicts and tension in various parts of our world; and as a result of the international economic crisis, which has particularly worsened the economic situation of developing countries and deepened the gaps between rich and poor countries. Under these circumstances, there is a strong need for a new approach to international issues and a new approach to the problems of war and peace. Proceeding from the truth that a new world war would inevitably turn into a nuclear war and would destroy the conditions for the existence of life itself on our planet, Romania believes that the fundamental question of our times is the resolute transition to disarmament, and to nuclear disarmament in the first place.

Now more than ever, everything possible should be done to unite the efforts and actions of all nations to halt the dangerous course of events leading to tension and war, and defend the supreme right of people and of nations to peace, life, and a free, independent, and dignified existence. [applause]

Our country believes that everything possible should be done for new agreements and actions in order to achieve a comprehensive disarmament program, in several stages, which should lead to the complete and definitive elimination of nuclear weapons and to the halt of nuclear tests and actions for militarization of outer space. In this respect, we believe that the Soviet Union and the United States of America should in the shortest time possible implement the provisions of the agreement on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles and should conclude agreements on reducing strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent, as a new and important step toward the gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons. Likewise, our country has spoken out and continuous to speak out for the elimination of chemical weapons and for an undelayed passage to negotiations on concluding an agreement on substantial reduction of conventional weapons, by 20 percent in the first stage, so that by the year 2000, at least a 50 percent reduction in these weapons may be achieved. The Romanian people call for actions and work for the reduction of military expenditures, which have reached the huge amount of $1 trillion, and for using the funds resulting from this reduction for the socioeconomic development of each country and for assisting developing countries. We believe that Europe has and must have a very important role in the struggle for disarmament, for preventing a destructive nuclear catastrophe, for security and peace. In this respect, our country takes actions for the conclusion with the best possible results of the Vienna conference, so that concrete steps may be taken on the road of developing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and on strengthening confidence and cooperation among all European countries.

We set out from the need to achieve a united Europe, based on respect for the social system in each country, a Europe of peace and cooperation, without arms and wars. At the same time, Romania is working to turn the Balkans into an area of peace, cooperation, and good-neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases. Our country also supports the creation of similar zones in northern and central Europe and in other parts of the world.

Within the framework of its overall policy of peace and cooperation, Romania consistently advocates and acts to eliminate force and the threat of force from international relations and to peacefully resolve through negotiations contentious issues in the Middle East, Central America, Asia, and Africa. We welcome the end of the war between Iran and Iraq and we express the hope that,

during their direct negotiations, the sides will make all efforts to reach mutually acceptable solutions, which will lead to solving the conflict and fully establishing peace in that part of the world.

Regarding the Middle East, we believe that a UN-sponsored conference should be convened as soon as possible, with the participation of all interested countries, including the PLO and Israel.

In view of the worsening international economic situation, which affects all countries in the world, particularly the developing countries, Romania speaks out for a UN-sponsored international conference with the participation of all states, both the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, so as to jointly reach mutually acceptable solutions for an overall solution to the problems of underdevelopment, including the foreign debt of developing countries, and for the establishment of a new world economic order. Reality shows that a just and lasting resolution of complicated international problems cannot be achieved without the active and equal participation of all nations and states, regardless of their size or social system.

From the rostrum of our great festive meeting, we wish to reiterate Socialist Romania's unflinching determination to continue to take firm steps to strengthen cooperation with all states in the world and to closely cooperate with the nations and the progressive forces everywhere, in order to fully contribute to strongly asserting the policy of peace, cooperation, disarmament, and security and to building a better and more just world on our planet. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades, on this anniversary of the 23 August 1944 revolution for social and national liberation, we take full pride in the great achievements obtained in the years of socialist construction and we pledge to do all we can to further develop our fatherland and raise it to new peaks of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

Let us work with all our might to unflinchingly implement the plan for this year and the entire 5-year plan, as well as all the plans and programs for the fatherland's socioeconomic development. [cheers, chants]

Let us voice the Romanian people's unanimous will to act in full unity and in a revolutionary spirit of high patriotic responsibility to unswervingly implement the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Party Conference, which ensure our fatherland's firm progress along the road of progress, well-being, and the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Long live the RCP headed by Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. [cheers, chants]

Long live our diligent and heroic people, builder of socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

Long live our beloved fatherland, the SR of Romania, and may it flourish. [cheers, chants]

May the united struggle of nations for progress, cooperation, and peace in the world triumph. [cheers, chants]

Target Inflation Rate 'Not Exceeded'

AU2108200488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Unattributed report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Last Monday, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, spoke to the Vares Political Aktiv among other things about inflation. He said: In the 7 months from last July until now, inflation rose by 190 percent, although we set ourselves the goal of a target inflation of 95 percent in this year.

These words, interpreted to mean that inflation has reached 190 percent over a period of 7 months, were received with shock. This statement was immediately denied on the following day. However, Dizdarevic's statement, thought slightly awkwardly formulated, was true. In the 12 month period inflation has indeed reached 188.9 percent.

For us the target inflation rate of 95 percent is very important, and this rate has not been exceeded yet because since the beginning of this year retail prices have risen by 73 percent.

According to all forecasts, the target rate will not be exceeded for at least the next 1 and ½ months. What does this mean?

This means that personal incomes, after the 9 month calculation and on the basis of the agreement with the IMF reached in May, may rise only by 132 percent, or that they may be 2.3 times larger than in the same month last year. What will happen after this, when we exceed the target rate of inflation? Whether personal incomes will be cut and by how much, we will only know in November after a new round of talks with the IMF.

Bohinj To Host Meeting of Dissidents

LD1908191988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The first public international meeting of dissidents in our country will be held from 25th to 28th August in Bohinj. The organizers of this meeting—the working group for peace movements at the Republican Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia and the section for a cultural peace of the Ljubljana Student Cultural Center—have announced the participation of 55 dissidents from West and East Europe. The meetings and discussion will be conducted in English and will be held at the Republican Conference Education Center of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia where the hosts and guests will be staying.

The information on the meeting, handed to journalists today in the republican Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, does not say however whether the participants will be mainly representatives of younger generations or whether their older-minded colleagues, who have for a considerably longer time searched for different socially acceptable solutions, will also speak on themes which preoccupy them.

Most of the participants are at present from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The information does not say whether representatives of sociopolitical life have also been invited to this meeting, which has been until now usual for all international meetings and which would certainly make possibe a democratic dialogue between people of different views on society and its system, and for which all dissidents support publicly. Or will it be, perhaps, a monologue of like-minded people?

Prosecutor Protests Leniency of Sentences

LD2008135688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—According to an article in Ljubljana's 'DNEVNIK', the military prosecutor, Colonel Zivko Mazic has lodged a complaint with the supreme military court in Belgrade about the verdict which the Ljubljana Military Court pronounced on Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, Franci Zavrl, and Ivan Jansa on 27 July.

The Ljubljana Military Court sentenced them for violating Article 224 of the SFR Criminal Law as follows: Ivan Borstner to 4 years imprisonment, David Tasic to 5 months, and Zavrl and Jansa to 18 months imprisonment each.

The military prosecutor 'DNEVNIK' writes, says in the complaint that the court of original jurisdiction, it is true, correctly established the real situation but did not take sufficiently into account the degree of the social danger of the criminal act. The military prosecutor believes that the court of original jurisdiction failed to assess to a sufficient extent the significance of the data made available, though this is a matter of highly confidential information. Objectively this information was made available to a large number of people and this could have had serious consequences for the security of the state for and the performance of tasks by various units. As regards Ivan Borstner, 'DNEVNIK' alleges, the military prosecutor's complaint stresses that the court should have taken greater account of the fact that he carried out the act as a military officer—someone to whom these documents had been entrusted and who should have made sure they were kept safe. However, he abused this, military prosecutor Col Zivko Mazic believes. According to the allegations in 'DNEVNIK', in his complaint, Mazic claims that all the accused carried out the act in a premeditated way and that there is no doubt whatsoever that the previous criminal proceedings against the accused have not had an educational impact on them, nor has a single one of them showed the least regret. This is evident from their behavior at the trial and after it. At the end of his complaint, military prosecutor

Col Zivko Mazic proposes that the supreme military court alter the verdict and pronounce longer prison sentences on the four accused.

10,000 Present at Titograd Protest Meeting

LD2008113788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Titograd, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—About 10,000 citizens, including several hundred from Kosovo and other parts of the country, gathered today at a protest meeting in Titograd to express solidarity with the demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo for a speedier and more efficient resolving of the problems of the non-Albanian population.

The protest meeting, which has just started at Ivan Milutinovic Square, was opened by Vida Knezevic, president of the Titograd SAWP Municipal Conference.

The organizer of this event is the organizational committee, for protest meetings outside the province of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

More on Protest Meeting

LD2008142588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—The heralded meeting of solidarity of the citizens of Titograd, at which solidarity will be expressed with the demands of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo for the more rapid and effective solution of the problems of the non-Albanian population there, which have been known about for years, has provoked great interest among the inhabitants of the Montenegrin capital and other places in this republic. [passage omitted]

At about 1130 a column of inhabitants of Kosovo, including a significant number from Vojvodina, set off along the streets of the Montenegrin capital carrying banners with the words: "Freedom for everyone," "We want the decisions of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]," and "Long live the LCY." The column of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo was joined in its tour of the city by a large number of citizens of Titograd, and they were shouting slogans: "Kosovo is Serbia," "We'll give our heads, but we won't give Kosovo," "We want a united defense," "Long live Marko Orlandic," "Long live Slobodan Milosevic," and others. On the streets of Titograd the hosts welcomed the guests with the greeting and welcome: "Welcome brothers, all who are for a strong Yugoslavia, freedom, and peace."

Judging by vehicle number plates, the meeting in Titograd will also be attended by a large number of citizens from other places in Montenegro.

Protest Meeting Ends

LD2008175888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—For a long time—to be precise, since Tito's visits to Titograd—the Ivan Milutinovic Square has not been as full as today on the occasion of the protest meeting at which almost 30,000 participants—inhabitants of the Montenegro capital and other parts of the republic—expressed their unanimous support to the justified demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to eliminate more rapidly, efficiently, and energetically the counterrevolutionary activities carried out over several years by the Albanian separatists and nationalists in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

The meeting was opened by Vida Knezevic, president of the Titograd SAWP Municipal Conference, who said that it is the first time in the postwar period that such a meeting has been held in Titograd. He said that the participants had a special obligation to see that the meeting contained exclusively positive messages for a faster and more complete solution of the crisis, which affects not only Kosovo, but also the whole country. She said that the premeditated, impudent, and perfidious methods of the Kosovo irredentists, incited by well-known and declared enemies of all colors, had resulted in all kinds of blows to the honor of honest families of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality. [passage omitted]

She said that the irredentists must be eliminated by a united Yugoslav action, and that the struggle against them must be fully supported by the participation of all progressive Albanians. She said that this was possible to achieve in practice as shown by the very stable intranational relations in the Titograd Municipality, where there are about 17,000 Albanians, and where people have been living together in harmony for decades.

Dr Banislav Kovacevic, member of the SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, speaking on behalf of the republican organs and organizations of Montenegro, emphasized that for over 7 years, every patriotic working person and citizen had been facing the fact that lawlessness existed in our self-managing and socialist community, due to which the children, instead of joy, experienced traumatic conditions, and whole families, under threat and pressure, had to leave their homes, humiliated and deprived of their rights. [passage omitted] Since the beginning of this drama in Kosovo, Kovacevic said the working people and citizens of Montenegro have energetically demanded that the situation be changed as soon as possible and that the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists be prevented without any compromise, in order to create conditions for a normal and secure life of the people, regardless of their nationality.

Kovacevic, said that despite the clear conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, the key problems have not been solved, and are

becoming worse, which is leading to a worrying aggravation of the intranational relations and stability in our country. She insisted that the process of differentiation and the establishment of responsibility for the situation in Kosovo should be concluded as soon as possible, settling the question of individual responsibility.

We have not come here—as some individuals and groups suggests—to cause a revolt among the people and to bring bad feelings, but to inform you in a direct meeting that the national being of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and Metohija is dangerously imperiled. The word pressure is mild and severely cynical—this is a matter of a pogrom and of genocide. These words were addressed to the meeting participants on behalf of the Organizing Committee for the Departure of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Protest Meetings Outside the Province by Svetomir Arsic-Basara, national liberation war participant, academy painter, and winner of the AVNOJ, [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] prize. He recalled that the genocide perpetuated against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and other nations and nationalities in this area, has been taking place for decades. [passage omitted]

Explaining the reasons for organizing protest meetings, Arsic-Basara stressed that they formed when the Serbian and Montenegrin people lost their patience, and their hope that important things would change, and when they were left to the mercy, or lack of it, of separatist movements. He added that Serbia has no authority to protect them, so they were forced into organized self-defense. He also said that had these gatherings not taken place, not one Serbian or Montenegrin voice would have been left in Kosovo and Metohija. [passage omitted]

After the end of the official course of the meeting, which passed peacefully, and without name-calling and labeling of individuals, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, along with several thousand inhabitants of Titograd and other Montenegrin towns, spent over 2 hours on the terrace and in the garden of Hotel Crna Gora [Montenegro]. Unanimous support was given in mutual talks to the justified demands of the inhabitants of Kosovo. This "unofficial" part of the meeting also passed in a dignified atmosphere.

A protest meeting has been announced for the evening in Kolasin, where the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will (?stop) on their way back to the province.

Titograd Newspaper on Rally

AU2108195488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 88 p 3

[TANJUG report: "A New Stage of the Kosovo Drama"]

[Text] Titograd, 17 Aug—Taking everything into account, a further demonstration will "heat up" the expected politically hot autumn in our country, a special if not absolute sign of concern at the impotence and discord among the institutions of our political system. It is a gist of the announcement received from the Presidency of the Belgrade City SAWP Conference that a rally of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins will be held in the capital city in early September. Basically, there is no reason to shrink from these and similar demonstrations. However, if everything that has preceded such a decision of the Belgrade front leadership is borne in mind, matters stand somewhat differently, today's commentary in the Titograd paper POBJEDA states.

The mass departure of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins for Novi Sad has opened a new stage in the "development" of the Kosovo drama, alongside a host of unprincipled forms of "attack" and "defense," exchanges between the leaderships of the SR of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and what is really a little war among the public media and the journalists within them.

When everything reached the boiling point, the LCY Central Committee Presidium responded with clear and precise conclusions. Nevertheless, the extent to which these have been heeded by the most outstanding LC members, and especially by the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations, state and other bodies, is best illustrated by the most recent decision of the Presidium of the Belgrade City SAWP Conference.

As far as replying to "the demands of the people" is concerned, what must be said is that the people, from 1981 to the present, through public discussions and meetings, besides expressing full solidarity with non-Albanians and all others who have for many years been the target of Albanian nationalists and separatists, have many times demanded uncompromising and principled action to establish full national equality, mutual trust, and brotherhood and unity in Kosovo, just as in all other parts of the country. It will be difficult for "the Belgrade part" of this people to say anything new at the September solidarity meeting, the Titograd paper POBJEDA concludes.

Protestors Stop in Kolasin

AU2008191588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Excerpt] On their return from Titograd where a meeting was held at noon today, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo stopped for about 1 hour in Kolasin where they were cordially welcomed, and a protest meeting was held over the slow solving of Kosovo problems. Rajko Radosavljevic, a 1941 veteran spoke, stressing that the people began to write their own conclusions with their own hands, hearts, and souls. The visitors were most cordially welcomed and seen off in Kolasin, and they

could see once again that the people of Montenegro have great understanding for their problems and cherish an unreserved wish that they be resolved.

Regarding the gathering in Titograd, two apparently easily obtained data are most inaccessible: How many people filled Ivan Milutinovic Square in Titograd at high noon—for the estimates range between 30,000 and 50,000 people—and second, how to express the leading theme of the gathering in a short and clear way suitable for the radio, the gathering that was started with the live torrent of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who marched along Freedom Street to Ivan Milutinovic Square, merging with equally lively processions from all the streets and areas of Montenegro.

Above the dense crowd, banners waved: We want peaceful dreams for Serbian and Montenegrin children in Kosovo; We sacrifice our heads, but not Kosovo; Kosovo is Yugoslavia; Long live AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. Frenzied shouts were heard: Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia; We want a new Constitution, a United SR of Serbia, and so forth. There was the song of devotion to Tito; there were pictures of Tito, Njego, and Lenin. [passage omitted]

Further on Kolasin Meeting

LD2008201288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Kolasin, 20 August (TANJUG)—Some 5,000 citizens tonight attended a solidarity meeting in Kolasin expressing discontent with the slow and inefficient manner of solving the longstanding problems of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. The protest meeting was attended by about 1,000 citizens from Kosovo and other places in the country who in the morning attended the big protest rally in Titograd.

The guests were welcomed by Rajko Radosavljevic, a well-known local veteran. He emphasized that only due to the great trouble to which they are subjected, the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo had been forced to seek brotherly help from outside their home. The non-Albanian population in this province is waging a difficult struggle which must be won if Yugoslav society wishes to live in brotherhood and togetherness. The LCY and other progressive forces must therefore do all, he said, to end the troubles affecting the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Expressing gratitude for the warm welcome in the town of heroes, Momcilo Pumpalovic, of Istok, emphasized that the Serbs and Montenegrins decided on this desperate action because, due to the ever increasing pressure, they had nothing left but collective emigration. The stands adopted by the highest organs in Kosovo are not being implemented due to disunity and also because of the opportunism of individual leaders, Pumpalovic said. In this context, he named Azem Vlasi, Stevan Dolasevic, Rahman Morina, Nebih Gasi, Josip Vrhovec, Bosko Krunic, Vidoje Zarkovic and Petar Matic who, according to him, are also guilty of the agony experienced by the non-Albanian population in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

1,000 Serbs, Montenegrins Meet in Priluzje

LD2008211388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Text] Vucitrn, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—A meeting was held last night in the village of Priluzje near Vucitrn of the SAWP branch of this local community. It was attended by about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from this area. The meeting was also attended by Major-General Milosav Djordjevic, a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee working group, and representatives of the municipal organizations in Vucitrn.

At this meeting numerous examples were given to illustrate pressures, attacks on, and anxiety of the Serbs and Montenegrins caused by Albanian nationalists. Mention was made, inter alia, of the case of the desecration of a Serbian Orthodox cemetery in Vucitrn and examples were also cited of attacks on the property of Serbs and Montenegrins and pressures on them to sell their houses and property. Thus, Tomislav Nedeljkovic said that a few days ago members of the Ajdani family threatened his father with a knife. Slavica Ivanovic complained that a month and a half ago she was attacked by engineer Halid Berisa. It was noted that of the (?25) directors in the Vucitrn municipality only one is a Serb.

In the debate, it was suggested that people calling other people names be replaced and that the SR of Serbia be equal to the other republics in Yugoslavia. An invitation was also sent to SFRY Presidency member Josip Vrhovec to visit Kosovo so as to assure himself personally of the troubles of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

The meeting ended at about 0400 hours today and it was agreed that another meeting of the residents of Priluzje will be held soon.

Vlasi Interviewed on Kosovo Situation

AU2108191588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Interview with Azem Vlasi, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, by Vesna Knezevic—in Pristina, recorded]

[Text] [Knezevic] The act of proving something implies that one is on the defensive. The view here is that the Kosovo policy is too defensive and that there is a limit to how defensive this policy can be. What do you think about this?

[Vlasi] Unfortunately, the fact is that in some aspects, in some respects, we are on the defensive. Sometimes the reason for this is our insufficient organization and inadequate activity in political action as a whole. Sometimes,

for various reasons, we are being pushed into this defensive position, we are pushed to defend ourselves, to prove something which does not need proving, and so forth. Of course, this is not an enviable position and we are aware that if we want to resolve the problems that we face, we must be on the offensive all the time, taking offensive action to solve our problems. However, we need help in this because we are told all the time that we need to prove things, absurd things like whether we Albanian Communists in Kosovo are ready to fight for Yugoslavia, for this system, for this social organization, or for the integrity of our country, and so forth. Moreover, certain media are practicing a kind of categorization, dividing Albanians into either irredentists and separatists, or those who are on our side, but are incompetent opportunists who are not willing to solve problems, and so forth. According to this, there are only a very few honest Albanians who are Yugoslav-minded. This is a very unenviable situation and it is absurd to have to prove whether Communists and other progressive people in the province are really ready to defend this system, society, and Yugoslavia.

[Knezevic] Well-known Kosovo intellectual Shkelzen Maliqi talks about the repressive homogenization of the Albanian people in Kosovo. Does the reason for all this lie in (?what you have said so far)?

[Vlasi] This is a complex question. But the fact is that we are permanently in danger of the Albanian nation being pushed into (?opposition), into a process of homogenization. This is a great danger to our ideopolitical action and to differentiation. The tendency to push us into this process of homogenization is primarily the result of the denial of our efforts to solve the situation in Kosovo and the results of our actions. The results of our actions should not be denied because one must bear in mind that we are doing something, that we are fighting at a time when the situation in the whole country is very serious. Clear differences are not being made often enough in public between what constitutes the position of Albanian nationalists and separatists, and what the conscious orientation of the majority of the people in Kosovo is, which is toward present-day Yugoslavia, Tito's Yugoslavia.

There are also many unacceptable things on the public scene which are not being publicly repudiated. This is also one of the facts in which the danger for the national homogenization of Albanians is concealed. Today, I feel that the entire situation is such that I find it more difficult to work now than I did before. This is a fact. Then, the time, the situation is such that attacks, the pointing of fingers and name-calling have become common phenomena in our society. But, I feel that for instance some of the attacks on me were ordered and contrived, that they were not spontaneous.

[Knezevic] Do you want to talk about who ordered the attacks on you?

[Vlasi] You know what, I cannot exactly point those who ordered these attacks. I do not know. You see, if you look at this as a phenomenon, if you look at the way, places, circumstances in which only certain number of names are mentioned, and what they are linked to and how, the undisputed conclusion is that this was cooked up in other kitchens. On some occasions the names mentioned are supplemented with other names while some are temporarily dropped, only to reappear later. People are being mentioned because of what they were in favor of on some long ago occasions. This problem, this question now appears in some new light, with some new connotations and so forth. Connections are made between this problem and certain names, and this is the reason for my conclusion. You know, I do not believe that people make arbitrary remarks, but that everything is connected with certain circumstances, certain situations, questions, problems, and even certain tasks that should be realized.